# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-140* *21 July 1988*

CONTENTS


**ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT**

Terms for Dismantling Krasnoyarsk Radar Named *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 1
Geneva Talks on Nuclear, Space Arms Continue ..... 1
Obukhov Interviewed *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* ..... 1
Swiss Paper Cited on Talks *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 2
Tentative Agreement Reached at CSCE Meeting ..... 3
Deryabin Answers Questions ..... 3
Retired Generals Continue Disarmament Talks ..... 4

**WORLDWIDE ISSUES**

EEC Sees Some Pact Views in 'Positive' Light *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 5
NATO Response to Arms Initiatives Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Jul]* ..... 5
More on Factory Meeting, Summit With China ..... 6
Ryzhkov Greets Peace Conference Participants ..... 7
Professor Previews Law of Sea Talks With UK ..... 8

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**United States & Canada**

Petrovskiy Receives State Department's Sofaer ..... 9
Report From Democratic Party Convention *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 9
Democratic Platform 'Evasive' *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* ..... 9
Demichev Meets With U.S. Senators in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 10

**China**

Gromyko Meets CPC Veteran Wu Xiuquan *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 10
Demichev Meets With PRC Parliamentarians *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 12
Nikolayev on Trade, Joint Economic Ties ..... 12
USSR, PRC To Cooperate in Antarctic Research ..... 12
RENMIN RIBAO Article on Party Purity Noted ..... 13
Heilongjiang Expands Trade With Maritime Kray ..... 13

**Northeast Asia**

Japan's Former Premier Nakasone Visits USSR ..... 14
Political 'Step Forward' Seen ..... 14
Meeting With Gorbachev Planned *[KYODO]* ..... 15
Addresses Territorial Issue *[KYODO]* ..... 15
Lauds Soviet Leadership *[KYODO]* ..... 15
Expanded Economic Cooperation With Japan Urged ..... 16
Petrovskiy Meets With DPRK Foreign Minister *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jul]* ..... 17

**Southeast Asia & Pacific**

SRV Hands Over U.S. Crew Involved in Crash ..... 17
Radon Leaks at U.S. Bases in Japan ..... 17
Gorbachev, Nguyen Van Linh 'Exchange of Views' ..... 18
ASEAN Focuses on Cambodia, Economic Issues ..... 18

### Near East & South Asia

Khomeyni Endorses Resolution 598; 'Aziz Cited ..... 19
Gromyko, Egypt's Al-Mahjub Discuss Relations ..... 19
'Internecine Clashes' Among Afghan Rebels ..... 20
Afghan Letter to UN Accuses 'Extremists' ..... 21
Pakistan Hindering Afghan Refugees' Return ..... 21
Soldier Returns From Dushman Captivity *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jul]* ..... 21

### Sub-Saharan Africa

Libya-Chad Meeting, 'Easing of Tension' Welcomed *[PRAVDA 17 Jul]* ..... 24
Guinea Ambassador Leaves Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 24

### East Europe

Shishlin Briefs CSSR Newsmen on Various Topics *[Prague]* ..... 24
Saratov Obkom Secretary Returns From CSSR *[PRAVDA 17 Jul]* ..... 25
Grosz Hails CPSU, MSZMP Conferences *[PRAVDA 17 Jul]* ..... 25
Soviet Warships Arrive in Polish Port ..... 26
Briefs ..... 26
Turkish Journalists in Baku ..... 26

### West Europe

Genscher To Make Working Visit 1-2 Aug ..... 26
German Emigration From USSR Reaches Record *[DPA]* ..... 26
Further Reportage on Visit by FRG's Vogel ..... 26
Antonov Holds Talks With FRG Businessman *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 27
New French Bomber, Missile Considered *[PRAVDA 17 Jul]* ..... 27
Portuguese Communists Visit 10-18 Jul *[PRAVDA 19 Jul]* ..... 27
New Ambassador to Finland Appointed ..... 28

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Political & Social

Further on 18 Jul Supreme Soviet Session ..... 29
PRAVDA Version of Gorbachev Speech 18 Jul *[20 Jul]* ..... 29
Television Broadcasts Proceedings ..... 34
Participants Listed ..... 51
Further on Demichev Comments at News Conference *[PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 51
Further on Situation in Azerbaijan, Armenia ..... 52
Interior Minister Interviewed ..... 52
Yerevan First Secretary Comments *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Jul]* ..... 53
Yerevan Debates Resolution *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* ..... 54
Strike Affecting Brest Workers *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Jul]* ..... 54
200,000 Gather in Yerevan ..... 55
Yerevan Situation 'Normal' *[AFP]* ..... 55
Street Interviews in Stepanakert ..... 56
Karabakh Committee 'Demagogues' ..... 56
Yerevan Agitators Still Active *[PRAVDA 21 Jul]* ..... 58
Further on Yerevan Strikes *[DPA]* ..... 59
Situation Tense in Yerevan *[AFP]* ..... 59
No Immediate Solution *[Yerevan]* ..... 60

### Economic

Council of Ministers Discuss State Plan ..... 60
Ryzhkov Chairs Discussion of State Orders *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 60
Cooperative Taxation Draft Rejected *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jul]* ..... 63
Dolgikh Stresses Need To Save Resources *[PRAVDA 11 Jul]* ..... 64

**Scientific**

'Progress-37' Cargo Craft Docks With 'Mir' ..... 70

**Military**

'Institutionalized Bullying' in Army Decried *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 Jul]* ..... 70

## Terms for Dismantling Krasnoyarsk Radar Named

*PM2007142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

["USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement"—PRAVDA headline; place, date not given]

[Text] Washington has recently once again raised the question of the Soviet Union's violating the ABM Treaty by building a radar station in the Krasnoyarsk region.

In this connection, it must be borne in mind that, as our side has already declared repeatedly, the radar station in the Krasnoyarsk region is designed to track objects in space and so can in no way be viewed in connection with the ABM Treaty. At the same time, the Soviet Union, displaying goodwill and concern in connection with accusations of this kind, stopped all work on the Krasnoyarsk radar station as long ago as last October, and that moratorium still remains in force.

The Soviet Union advocates precise and strict observance of the ABM Treaty. We regard the preservation of this treaty as a necessary element for implementing 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms. At the Geneva talks, the USSR delegation is actively discussing the possibility of concluding a corresponding agreement in this regard, which would confirm the two sides' pledges to observe the ABM Treaty for at least the next 9-10 years. Within this framework, we are also ready for a radical solution to the question of the Krasnoyarsk radar station raised by the U.S. side. If an accord is reached on observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, the Soviet Union will be prepared to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar station's equipment in such a way that this will be verifiable and give rise to no doubts in the United States.

## Geneva Talks on Nuclear, Space Arms Continue

### Obukhov Interviewed

*PM2107095288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Interview with Special Ambassador A. Obukhov, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, by own correspondent B. Dubrovin in Geneva: "Geneva After Moscow: Latest Round of Soviet-American Talks Opens"—date of interview not given]

[Text] Geneva, July—It is just over 6 weeks since the fourth Soviet-American summit meeting in 3 years ended in Moscow. The political dialogue between the leaders of the great powers has acquired a dynamism that began in Geneva in November 1985 and was then built up in Reykjavik and Washington.

The meeting was assessed positively in statements by Eastern and Western politicians and public figures and many articles in the world press. It is generally acknowledged that the meeting marked an advance toward realism in understanding the most important problems of war and peace. This is confirmed, in particular, by the completion of the process of the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. In this way a notable step was taken in a very difficult matter—in the disarmament sphere.

The latest round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms opened in Geneva on 12 July. The significance of this round was explained to PRAVDA's correspondent by the leader of the Soviet delegation, Special Ambassador A. Obukhov.

[Dubrovin] What can you tell us about the initial contacts between the delegations?

[Obukhov] Work has only just begun. I have had two detailed conversations with Ambassador M. Kampelman, leader of the U.S. delegation. A plenary session of the delegations was held on 12 July. In general terms, these initial contacts made a favorable impression. Both sides expressed a firm desire to make progress and tackle the remaining questions in both groups at the talks—on space and on strategic offensive arms. Mutual understanding may be noted to the effect that in the course of the round that has now opened, we should work with the utmost energy and purposefulness in the interests of completing the preparation of the documents—a draft treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms, and a separate agreement on questions of the ABM Treaty. Those are the instructions given to the delegations by the USSR and U.S. leaders as a result of their meeting in Moscow.

So the talks have begun on a constructive note. But it is also clear that statements of willingness for constructive work should be backed up by concrete action. A gulf between word and deed cannot be tolerated. Major, extensive work lies ahead. It is important not to lose momentum, and to make progress on the whole range of as yet unresolved questions.

I must say that at the very first session, the USSR delegation put forward an important initiative—we submitted a draft protocol on the question of the total throw-weight of ICBM's and SLBM's, which will be an integral part of the treaty that is being prepared on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms.

What is the meaning of this document? It is well known that a consensus was reached between the sides to the effect that as a result of the strategic offensive arms reductions the total throw-weight of the Soviet Union's ICBM's and SLBM's will be reduced to a level amounting to approximately 50 percent of the present level, and that this level will not be exceeded. It will not be

exceeded by either side. The Soviet draft protocol contains provisions dealing with questions of verification of the limitation in question. Our draft takes account of the wishes expressed earlier by the American side and provides a good basis for achieving an accord. Thus we have made our claim for accelerated development of the talks.

No concrete new ideas aimed at ensuring progress at the talks have yet been put forward by the American side. We will see what the subsequent discussions will show. Work has begun in the groups. Positive results can be achieved at the talks only on the basis of efforts on both sides.

[Dubrovin] What, in your view, are the main problems to be resolved at the talks?

[Obukhov] Much has already been done at the talks. There are a whole series of joint draft documents formulating agreed propositions and the differences that still remain.

An important part was played in achieving progress on the problems under discussion by the decisions adopted during the summit meetings and during talks between the foreign ministers. They form the basis on which the delegations in Geneva find it possible to make progress in their work.

But there remain a great many unresolved problems—minor, medium, and major—on which work has to be done. Let me take those that are most important as of today. First and foremost, there are the questions connected with the ABM Treaty. The task is to prepare a draft separate agreement on compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and on nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed term.

In our view everything necessary and sufficient for such an agreement already exists. There is the formula enshrined in the Washington joint statement of 10 December last year, which was reaffirmed during the Moscow summit meeting. It is this formula which should be reflected in its full and integral form in the agreement, formulated in the appropriate legal terms. And the protocol to the agreement should reflect questions of verification and predictability in such a way as to ensure that the sides are confident that the ABM Treaty will be strictly fulfilled. After all, compliance with this treaty is a necessary prerequisite for strategic stability without which radical reductions in strategic offensive arms would be impossible. The paths for the spread of the arms race to space must be closed.

Another major question awaiting resolution is that of limitations on the deployment of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. SLCM's are a new and dangerous form of strategic offensive arms. Their effective limitation, with appropriate verification, is necessary in order to ensure the stability of a future treaty and preclude the possibility of bypassing it. We are told that at present there are no reliable means of monitoring compliance with limitations in this sphere. True, the problem is not an easy one. But it is our conviction that it can be overcome if the matter is approached comprehensively, with the desire and readiness to block this channel for the buildup of nuclear arms too.

The Soviet side has submitted a whole program of far-reaching measures on this score: from monitoring [kontrol] of the production of SLCM's to inspections on a reciprocal basis on any warship on either side. Verification must not be an obstacle to the setting of limitations in the strategic offensive arms sphere. In the course of the present round, we will try to persuade the American side to consent to the comprehensive and radical system of verification of SLCM's that we propose.

I would also like to say this. It is well known that in the course of the Moscow meeting it proved possible to considerably extend the area of consensus on long-range air-launched cruise missiles, as well as verification with regard to mobile ICBM launchers. The new areas of consensus are given concrete form in documents exchanged by the sides. The delegations must enshrine these mutual understandings in the joint draft text of the treaty and seek the full resolution of these two questions.

[Dubrovin] Do you think it is possible to complete work on drafting the treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms in the conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty in 1988, that is, under the present American Administration?

[Obukhov] We believe in that possibility. There should be no unjustified delays in drafting the accord on strategic offensive arms and the agreement on questions of the ABM Treaty. The leadership's instructions and our sense of responsibility for the task in hand orient us in precisely this way. But as I have already said, in order to achieve an accord, will and efforts on both sides are needed. We are counting on their being displayed by the American side too—in concrete actions and proposals at the talks.

## Swiss Paper Cited on Talks

*PM2007141488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch: "Switzerland: Promising Start"]

[Text] Geneva—Commenting on the latest round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, which resumed here on 12 July, international observers in Geneva's Palais des Nations draw attention to a series of promising signs in statements by participants in the talks.

It is emphasized at the same time that if the Soviet and U.S. delegations succeed in maintaining the pace gathered during the preparation and conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, it is possible to hope that work on the new document on a mutual 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms could be completed before the year is out.

These optimistic forecasts are also present in statements by the leaders of the Soviet and U.S. delegations to the Geneva talks. "We are in favor of not slackening the existing pace and taking matters to the swiftest possible conclusion of the preparation of current [sovremennyye; possibly a misprint for "sovmestnyye" which would mean "joint"] drafts," Soviet delegation head A.A. Obukhov declared. "We think that it is possible to complete work on the treaty while President Reagan's administration is still in the White House," Max Kampelman, his U.S. colleague at the talks, emphasized.

According to the Swiss newspaper LE COURRIER, once the main work on the draft future treaty on nuclear and space arms has been done by the two delegations and its 300 pages have been edited, the only thing left will be to settle two basic questions: to provide strict guarantees that the 1972 ABM Treaty will be fulfilled and to reach agreement on setting definite levels for sea-launched cruise missiles.

The last question is the main stumbling block for the U.S. delegation at the talks, LE COURRIER believes, and it cites an extremely vague statement by Kampelman that "discussing the details of this question is one hell of a job." The Swiss newspaper emphasizes that the recent tragedy involving the Iranian civilian aircraft which was shot down after being fired at from a U.S. ship emphasizes yet again the fragility of peace which is still maintained on the balance of fear. Awareness of this danger must prompt the international community to reach agreement on disarmament questions as soon as possible. In these conditions, LE COURRIER points out, special interest attaches to the proposal put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Poland to convene a European summit conference on the question of conventional arms reductions. The importance of this initiative by the Soviet leader is not diminished by NATO's negative response to it, the newspaper believes, and it draws attention to the fact that M.S. Gorbachev's proposal fully conforms with the strategic UN line of reducing conventional types of arms. The Soviet proposal deserves to be studied in the greatest detail, the newspaper concludes.

## Tentative Agreement Reached at CSCE Meeting

*LD2007134588 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Vienna July 20 TASS—Tentative agreement has been reached at the consultations of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO members here, which are aimed at working out a mandate for talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, on the negotiations' organization and procedures.

The agreement is based on provisions already accepted in the CSCE process, such as the sovereign equality of nations, the principle of consensus in taking decisions, and the use of all the six official CSCE languages, including Russian, at the talks.

The agreement means that organizational groundwork has been laid for the negotiations which are to open, as agreed before, as early as this year.

## Deryabin Answers Questions

*LD2007110388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 19 July (TASS)—At the third Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the foreign ministers of France and the FRG pointed out the need to make every effort to finish the work of that forum by the end of July. That viewpoint is fully justified—carrying the conference over to the fall could result not only in slackening the pace of agreements but also missing the very chance of completing the meeting within a reasonable time span, at any rate this year. In this connection Yuriy Deryabin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry department for questions of European security and cooperation, answered questions from Vadim Biryukov, TASS diplomatic correspondent.

Question: How do you assess the prospects for completion of the Vienna meeting?

Answer: The main thing, of course, is not the completion time, but the results: acceptable to all, weighty, and balanced, which would bring a fresh quality to the Helsinki process—in all directions, moreover.

But the time factor is also of no small significance. For instance, it is on the earliest completion of the Vienna forum that the possibility directly depends of starting this year such major talks as the talks on reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Rapid progress is needed in two directions: completion of agreeing on the mandate of the future talks on conventional weapons in Europe—above all, the subject of reductions—and finding mutually acceptable accords on the "third basket," taking into account the proposals put forward by neutral and nonaligned countries back in May. There are opportunities for this. To carry out these tasks, political will on the part of the participants in the talks is needed.

Question: But what is preventing accord on the subject of the talks on conventional weapons?

Answer: The position of our Western partners at the consultations of the 23 member-states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on dual-purpose weapons. It would seem that mutual understanding was reached long ago that these weapons, now comprising up to 60-70 percent of conventional weapons, should not be left outside the scope of the future talks. In order to take into consideration the West's concern regarding the so-called "third zero," that is, tactical nuclear weapons, we proposed that

at these talks only the means of delivery of dual-purpose weapons would be examined, while the weapons' nuclear components would be the subject of separate talks.

It would seem that all that remains is to agree on suitable formulations that reflect the understanding reached. Work was conducted in this area, for example, during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow in May. Of course, it was intended that the final formulations should be a matter for the consultations of the 23 states.

But what are we dealing with in Vienna now? The latest proposals by the NATO countries on this matter again put into question the inclusion in the future talks of dual-purpose weapons, and virtually postpone the resolving of this central problem, that is, until the talks themselves. Thus, the subject of the talks is devalued, and a new knot is tied in the way of concluding the Vienna forum. And, as we know, it is easier to tie a knot than it is to unravel one.

Question: Has progress been made in Vienna on humanitarian problems?

Answer: These questions occupy a very significant place in the draft of the final document, presented by the neutral countries. Far from everything in this draft suits us and our allies, or, for that matter, the Western partners. But this is a serious and business-like attempt to reach compromises. Therefore, we have agreed to adopt the draft of the neutral countries as a basis for the agreement of a final document of the Vienna meeting, including on issues of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. What is more, the Soviet delegation has called for a minimum of amendments and for unrealistic, maximalist counter-proposals not to be put forward. We have shown willingness to examine the formulations put forward by the neutral states on such complex questions as rights protection and religious activity.

I would especially like to emphasize that accords that go significantly further than Helsinki and Madrid both in volume and nature have already begun to take shape in Vienna.

Question: It is now often claimed in the West that the proposal put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw about "European Reykjavik" is allegedly to replace the future talks in Vienna on problems of reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe, is it not?

Answer: Of course this is not so. The all-European meeting which Mikhail Gorbachev proposed is called upon to examine the main question: how to get out of the present vicious circle, to ensure the transition from words to deeds in the sphere of reduction of conventional weapons. In other words, to give a real political impulse to future talks, to real disarmament in Europe.

And the experience of Reykjavik itself, just like the follow-up Soviet-U.S. summit meetings and the experience of Helskinki, where in 1975 leaders of 35 European states, the United States, and Canada accelerated greatly the all-European process, speak here for themselves. Incidentally, there is no question this time about the United States and Canada being kept apart from European affairs, about any attempts to isolate Western Europe from its trans-Atlantic allies. Realistic prospects for European disarmament are being taken into account fully in Moscow.

This relates to our other proposal—the creation of a European center for the reduction of military threat. It is sometimes said that we are allegedly striving to implement this idea on a bloc basis, leaving out neutral and nonaligned states which represent almost a third of Europe. We see the issue in the following way: that formation of a new structure which would increase the reliability of peace on the continent can win only if all 35 states participants in the all-European process are engaged in it.

### Retired Generals Continue Disarmament Talks

*LD1907200888 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Former military leaders could use their rich experience and prestige for progress in general disarmament and contribute to better information of the public of the danger of a nuclear disaster. This is the opinion of retired Major General Constantilidis [name as received] of Greece. As an observer of the West European group Generals for Peace and Disarmament, he is present at the 2nd Soviet-American disarmament conference, now in progress here. It is attended by members of the public group Soviet Retired Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament and representatives of the Center for Defense Information [as received] from the USA.

The two-day debate of veterans revealed quite a number of similar opinions when discussing problems of a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons under the conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty, prevention of weapons from being stationed in space, limitation and complete prohibition of nuclear tests and strengthening of the regime of nuclear non-proliferation. However, different points of view also cropped up. Members of the American delegation did not understand quite clearly the Soviet stand on the principle of "reasonable sufficiency" in the military-political sphere. This principle, as it was noted by retired Lieutenant General Mikhail Milshtein, head of the Soviet delegation, provides for presence of forces and means, which pursue only defensive purposes. However, it cannot be put into life unilaterally and needs adequate efforts from the other side, mutual trust and not increased suspicion.

## EEC Sees Some Pact Views in 'Positive' Light

*PM2007135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent G. Shakhunyan dispatch: "EEC: Interest Shown"]

[Text] Athens—"Certain ideas contained in the statement and communique of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference reflect the EEC stand on conventional arms, particularly with regard to strict verification and the concept of the elimination [as published] of asymmetric reduction." So reads a statement for the press adopted at a session of the foreign ministers of the 12 EEC countries held in the Greek capital.

This positive development, it goes on to say, must be realized in the signing of a balanced and sound document at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states, which in turn will open up the way to talks on conventional weapons in Europe; the establishment of a stable balance of conventional arms in Europe at a lower level; and to further measures to strengthen confidence and security. The EEC countries' foreign ministers came out in support of continuing the shift toward the dynamic development of East-West relations.

The foreign ministers session also adopted a number of other resolutions, including support for the implementation of the agreements on Afghanistan, the restoration of democracy in Chile, the establishment of peace and tranquillity in Angola, the granting of independence to Namibia, and an appeal to the RSA Government to free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

## NATO Response to Arms Initiatives Criticized

*PM2007154988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 First Edition p 3*

["Military-Political Review" by Captain First Rank V. Kuzar: "Confidence- and Security-Building in Europe"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] From the rostrum of the Polish Sejm M.S. Gorbachev called on the leaders of all European countries to hold a meeting to discuss a single question: the practical reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. Yes, an all-European Reykjavik is needed; a breakthrough is needed on this key element of European security. Substantial progress in the political, economic, and other spheres can hardly be expected without achieving concrete results here. Why? A "European home" cannot be built on weapons arsenals, which are constantly being restocked with new, more powerful, and more accurate varieties. Especially with a continent that is saturated with nuclear power stations, conventional weapons are now, figuratively speaking, being turned into nuclear weapons. One missile carrying a conventional warhead or even a powerful artillery shell is enough to throw a death-dealing radioactive cloud over a nuclear power station. This danger is extremely real and, naturally, cannot fail to undermine trust between European countries.

Soviet proposals on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces and confidence-building measures on an all-European scale were once again voiced in Warsaw. The USSR proposes that this process be implemented in three stages. In the first stage it proposes the disclosure and elimination of all the imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in both the numerical strength of troops and basic arms and individual regions of the continent. It proposes that talks begin with an exchange and thorough verification [proverka] of initial data, including by on-site inspections. In the second phase it proposes that the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces be reduced by 500,000 men on each side by disbanding formations and units and eliminating their standard-issue arms. The third phase is to continue the reduction in armed forces in order to eventually impart an exclusively defensive character to them. The Soviet Union is prepared from the very start of reductions to come to an agreement on priority reductions in tactical nuclear weapons, aircraft, and tanks. In an effort to seek balance in every specific case by reducing military confrontation, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to withdraw its comparable aircraft systems from forward-based sites in Eastern Europe if NATO does not deploy in Italy the 72 U.S. fighter-bombers which Spain has rejected. The implementation of another Soviet proposal—the creation of a unified center to lessen the military danger as an area for NATO-Warsaw Pact cooperation—would also promote the reduction of tension on the European Continent. Poland is ready to site such a center on its territory.

The new Soviet initiatives are consonant with the proposals from other socialist countries aimed at ensuring security in our "European home." They also include the comprehensive Polish plan for arms reduction and confidence-building in central Europe, a plan that is well known as the "Jaruzelski Plan," and the initiative on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO meet, which was put forward by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The new initiatives put forward in the course of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland and in the course of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session have aroused a broad wave of interest and approval. Everyone who shows sincere concern for the fate of both the European Continent and the entire planet sees them and supports them. They are at the center of attention for politicians, public figures, and foreign countries' mass media.

In this connection, the following question is quite natural: What is the reaction of the people to whom these

initiatives are primarily addressed—the NATO military-political leadership—to these initiatives? All the indications are that it is negative. This conclusion is self-evident when you acquaint yourself with the first statements made by official NATO spokesmen and Western newspapers' commentaries on this subject.

Thus France's LE MONDE, in reference to the USSR's new proposals, says that NATO "has shown no interest either in holding a meeting between the leaders of the European states or in reducing conventional arms, or in symmetrically withdrawing combat aircraft from the continent." A NATO Headquarters communique indicates that the Soviet initiatives were noted, but there was soon a rush to reject them. The Atlanticists have not even taken the trouble to attentively and comprehensively study the new proposals or think about seeking mutually acceptable options in the interests of reducing the number of modern warfare systems sited in Europe and reducing military confrontation on the continent.

What is the worth, for instance, of the statement concerning the Soviet initiatives made by M. Woerner, recently appointed NATO secretary general. While hypocritically stating that the West is interested in creating stable equilibrium at the lowest possible level, he asserts without foundation that this is being impeded by Soviet superiority in Europe. Or take the pseudoargument used by people within NATO in their quest to justify their nonacceptance of the Soviet proposals. People there claim that air forces do not lend themselves to reductions owing to the verification [proverka] difficulties which allegedly crop up when aircraft base sites are changed rapidly. This approach to the proposals from one side unequivocally illustrates the other side's unwillingness to display common sense and conduct constructive talks.

The NATO military-political leadership is still a slave to the stereotypes of the prenuclear age. It is increasingly endeavoring to rattle the saber, and is every time adamantly opposed to any attempt to secure arms reduction. Clearly expressing the will of the NATO leaders, London's FINANCIAL TIMES hastened to silence Italian Prime Minister C. De Mita, stating that his support for the reciprocal withdrawal of aircraft is allegedly premature. Corresponding words of warning are also heard from across the ocean. R. Lehman, U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, recently formulated the essence of these warnings: "The Soviet Union under Gorbachev challenges U.S. and Western interests and this requires that we be vigilant.... We must not reduce the military potential of the United States and its allies on the basis of Soviet public statements.... As for NATO, we must continue to implement our initiative to perfect conventional arms and the programs arising from the resolution adopted in Montebello in 1983...."

Decisions are being adopted in NATO under pressure from the opponents of a secure and nonviolent world and in complete accordance with their views aimed at further building up military preparations and improving strategy and tactics for use of troops. Thus, General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, stated that he will continue to strive to ensure that the alliance has an opportunity to maneuver and destroy enemy forces even before they enter into combat operations. The general spoke positively of the "follow-on forces attack" concept, which, as is well known, is of a clearly aggressive character.

NATO is creating a multinational operational formation for operations on the bloc's northern flank. It is made up of U.S., Canadian, and West German troops. There is no need to particularly stress the danger of this decision and its obvious thrust against the well-known Soviet proposals on reducing the level of military confrontation in the north of Europe and transforming this region into a peace zone.

France is holding back from participating in the process of East-West disarmament and detente, L'HUMANITE notes. The newspaper draws this conclusion on the basis of recent statements made by Defense Minister J.-P. Chevenement, confirming that a law recently adopted on military programs for the years 1987-1991 will not be revised. Thus, the orientation toward building up nuclear, chemical, and conventional systems remains in force. New nuclear-powered submarines carrying a new type of missile and Mirage 2000-N's equipped with ASMP [air-to-surface] nuclear cruise missiles are to come into service.

Nonetheless I would like to hope that NATO's first negative reaction to the latest Warsaw Pact proposals will not be the last, and that reason will prevail. At any rate the statements by the leaders of certain NATO countries give definite grounds for such hopes.

"We see a Europe in the future where West and East no longer bristle with weapons directed against one another but, on the contrary, derive unprecedented benefit from exchanging goods and values, skills and knowledge, people and ideals." Everyone who values the cause of peace on earth is prepared to subscribe to these words uttered by M.S. Gorbachev in the Polish Sejm. Only mutual trust and the restriction of armed forces to exclusively defensive purposes can ensure universal security. The swords that have not yet been beaten into ploughshares must remain sheathed.

## More on Factory Meeting, Summit With China

*PM1607123188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 29, 16-22 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 14 Jul 88) p 5*

[Unattributed report under the "In the Light of Glasnost" rubric: "Diplomats in No 17 Shop"]

[Text] An unusual meeting took place 5 July in one of the shops of Moscow's "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod Imeni S. Ordzhonikidze" Production Association. At the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the workers were visited by leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry and members of the committee's aktiv.

Questions were answered by First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov, Deputy Ministers A.A. Bessmertnykh and I.A. Rogachev, and spokesmen of the Committee for the Defense of Peace.

A substantial number of the questions asked by workers concerned Soviet soldiers captured in Afghanistan.

"We are not simply raising this problem now, we are fighting to ensure that our guys return home," Yu. Vorontsov said. "Some 312 men have disappeared without trace. Some of them are dead and we simply cannot confirm this by factual evidence, but many are held captive. We are conducting talks with the International Red Cross and Pakistan. I have personally spoken with President Ziaul Haq. He said some fine words: 'I am a soldier myself and know what it means to be held captive. I will help you.' Unfortunately, these are nothing but words. As yet Pakistan has not traced anyone. The Americans have, however—but only so as to transfer several persons to U.S. territory. We know they are there, but we are not allowed to meet with them. Their life is not easy—they are intimidated, their actions are monitored. One of them—we do know this—ended up in an American jail for 'improper behavior.' That was somewhere in the San Francisco area. We are now seeking an opportunity to visit him."

I. Rogachev answered a question about the reason why a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting has not yet taken place. He said in particular:

"It was 2 years ago that China's leader Deng Xiaoping remarked at a meeting with U.S. journalists that he was already at an advanced age and did not travel abroad, but he would travel to Moscow to meet M.S. Gorbachev if the USSR would influence Vietnam and encourage it to withdraw its troops from Cambodia.

"Our position is this. We are ready for talks at any time. We are ready to discuss any questions, but there must be no preliminary conditions. This is why, it seems to me, it is now up to the Chinese side. I personally am convinced that there will be a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting [vstrecha na vysshem urovne]."

Someone asked: "Much is being said now about our diplomacy's mistakes during the years of stagnation. But for some reason nobody has once said whether any such mistakes were committed recently, in the last 2-3 years. Have there been no mistakes?"

Answering this question, V. Shustov, leader of the USSR Foreign Ministry Scientific Coordination Center, noted that such questions already testify to the growing process of glasnost. "Of course," he noted, "we do have shortcomings, but not all of them can be discussed now, so as not to damage our mutual relations with partners and our own interests.

"Take the problems of mutual relations with developing countries. It seems to me that our analysis of our failures is still poor, that we have not investigated this sphere. After all, we channeled huge sums into building gigantic enterprises in these countries. The funds evidently ought to have been channeled into more necessary projects: agricultural development, cottage industries."

The following question was addressed to A. Bovin: "Has there been in the past and is there at present a successful one-party state based on the rule of law where democratic institutions function normally? If not, do you consider this possible?"

"The most difficult point for us is that we are actually trying to solve a task which has never been solved by anyone before," A. Bovin said. "Democracy in a one-party system is an unbelievably hard task, but nevertheless we are now trying to find the right approach.

"Maybe I am too conservative, but I cannot imagine a return to the multiparty system in our country. We need something else—to try to make our one-party system truly democratic."

Touching on the same problem, A. Bessmertnykh noted:

"For example, the existence of two parties in the United States influences the process of electing various candidates to elected office. But all pledges are totally forgotten once the election is over. I think that we must ensure a multiplicity of views and opinions within our party. We must ensure that the proponents of these views can end up in various elected organs and spheres of management. This will be proper democracy."

### Ryzhkov Greets Peace Conference Participants

*LD1707131188 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 17 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, has sent a message of greetings to the organizers of and participants in the world peace concert which the message points out, "will undoubtedly find a broad response among all people of goodwill and will take a worthy place among jubilee activities in Australia".

"In the present-day interconnected and interdependent world", the message says, "the awareness of the need for joint efforts in the cause of strengthening peace and security of peoples, for the development of equal international cooperation, and for the solution of serious global problems is winning the hearts of millions of people of all countries and continents across national borders".

"War, which in present-day conditions would lead to mankind's self-destruction, is the most terrible thing for every person on earth. War should be averted. The Soviet Union, showing concern for the destiny of the

present and future generations, has come forward with a program for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world and for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. It is gratifying that the ideas of peace and cooperation put forward in Vladivostok meet with understanding and support among the peoples of Asia and the countries of the Pacific Ocean area".

"I express the hope that the world peace concert in Canberra will serve the cause of advancing towards the attainment of these goals which are common to the whole of mankind and will stimulate peace-making actions and unification of the forces of peace against war. It is very important that the voices of people of all countries in favour of peace and cooperation joint in a united powerful chorus and that the governments' concrete actions in the international arena correspond to them".

Nikolay Ryzhkov wished the organizers of and participants in the world peace concert "happiness and successes in their lofty efforts which are called upon to secure the triumph of peace on earth".

### Professor Previews Law of Sea Talks With UK

*LD1607165488 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 16 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—"One of the most important problems of the present, the maintenance of peace and security in the world ocean, will be in the focus of attention during our meeting with British jurists", said Anatoliy Kolodkin, the president of the Soviet Association on the Law of the Sea. He gave an interview to a TASS correspondent in connection with the Soviet-British symposium to be held next week in Moscow. The symposium is sponsored by the Soviet association with the participation of British scientists headed by prominent specialist in international law, Professor William Butler of the University of London.

Professor Kolodkin recalled that the beginning to permanent contacts between Soviet and British jurists, specialists in international law, who concentrate mainly on the area of the Law of the Sea, was set in 1983 during a first bilateral symposium in Moscow. Since that time such meetings have been held alternately in the USSR and Great Britain. They are devoted to topical problems of the use of marine expanses, shipping, fisheries, scientific research of the world ocean, protection of the marine environment against pollution.

"Our countries cannot but be concerned by the fact that the world ocean which makes up over 70 per cent of the surface of the globe is ever more often whipped up by naval ships' propellers. The build-up of naval armaments enhances the likelihood of conflict situations with unpredictable consequences. This is confirmed, specifically, by the recent tragedy over the Persian Gulf, when an Iranian passenger airliner was downed by a missile fired from a U.S. cruiser. The concern over the dangerous developments prompted constructive initiatives and proposals that the Soviet leadership advanced in order to establish durable peace on high seas and oceans," Professor Kolodkin said.

At the coming symposium the jurists of the two countries plan to discuss problems of international law connected with curbing the arms race, with combatting terrorism and piracy. It is also important to hold the exchange of opinion on such problems as the use of marine resources, commercial shipping and fisheries in the light of the United Nations 1982 convention on the Law of the Sea, Anatoliy Kolodkin said.

## United States & Canada

### Petrovskiy Receives State Department's Sofaer

*LD2107081688 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received on July 20 Abe Sofaer, legal adviser of the U.S. Department of State who has come to Moscow for consultations.

During their conversation they pointed out a useful development of contacts between the legal services of the USSR Ministry of foreign Affairs and the U.S. Department of State which are gradually becoming an integral part of Soviet-American relations. They pointed out as well the role played by the international law in the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

### Report From Democratic Party Convention

*PM2007150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under the rubric "U.S. Democratic Party Convention Continues Work": "Adults Playing Politics"]

[Excerpts] Atlanta, 19 Jul—So, the 40th Democratic Party convention is in full swing. Speeches of welcome are being made from the rostrum, the national anthem has been played, and first-graders are taking the oath of loyalty to the U.S. flag. Former Democratic Party celebrities—presidents, senators, and members of government—are being presented to the audience. The time limit of the agenda has been strictly defined: 4 minutes for prayer, 17 minutes for the report by the credentials commission, and so forth, but these limits are constantly being overrun. There are bursts of spontaneous ovation in different parts of the hall, thunderous applause, and whistling and hooting—the way Americans express great approval. [passage omitted]

The Democratic platform contains some realistic words about the need to improve East-West relations. "We believe," the foreign policy section of the platform states, "that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, a laudable first step in itself, must be followed by agreements on significant strategic arms cuts which will reduce the threat of a nuclear attack by either of the two superpowers." It is necessary to cut conventional armed forces to equal levels in Europe, the text notes further, impose a total ban on chemical and space weapons, and cease all nuclear arms tests. At the same time, the platform asserts that the Democrats "must not weaken their vigilance on the assumption that long-term Soviet interests have irrevocably changed" and that apparently they should "verify the intentions of the new Soviet leaders in the sphere of arms control, emigration, and human rights."

The minority platform presented by Jackson supporters includes proposals such as freezing U.S. military expenditure in the next 5 years at the level of the 1988 budget, announcing a moratorium on tests of nuclear missiles as well as nuclear warheads, and ensuring that the United States is not the first to use nuclear weapons. What are the chances of these ideas being included in the party platform? Not very great, frankly speaking, because Dukakis is controlling this convention and, therefore, the party program. "Why is the present program at least 10 times shorter than the one approved at your party's previous convention?" I asked Senator D. Bumpers from Arkansas. "The shorter the better," he replied, "as then there are fewer arguments and it is easier to implement." But even considering these circumstances, you can see that the Democratic platform takes a more constructive tone than the Republican platform with regard to making Soviet-American dialogue more stable. But, as is well known, there is more than one step from a plan to action. Anyway, the elections have yet to be held, so it is uncertain whether the Democrats will have the opportunity to confirm the seriousness of their intentions.

Although the Democrats are again presenting themselves to the electorate as the "party of the little guy," more than half the delegates at the convention earn an income of more than $50,000 per year. The J. Jackson delegates are the ones really representing the poor. They collected sums of $10, $15, and even $2 to $3 for his campaign.

A great deal is being said here today about compassion for the humble, everyone's right to the "American dream," and justice. Only where do these words so often go after the elections are over...?

### Democratic Platform 'Evasive'

*PM2107113788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "The Democratic Platform"]

[Excerpt] Atlanta—[passage omitted] The 1988 Democratic Party platform contains a list of the socioeconomic problems confronting the United States and sharp criticism of the current Republican administration which, in the Democrats' view, has sharply exacerbated these problems through its actions. It points out that during the 7 years that the administration has been in power, the country's state debt has almost trebled and the United States is now a debtor of other developed countries. The problem of the homeless has assumed the biggest scale since the time of the great depression.

At the same time, at variance with the wishes of U.S. schoolchildren, the platform is rather vague and evasive. The authors of the document were clearly concerned with not putting off various sections of the population, some of which hold diametrically opposed views.

The Democrats level sharp criticism at a number of aspects of White House foreign policy. The Republican administration, the document notes, has "long neglected" the peace process in the Near East and is undermining a peaceful settlement in Central America. It is necessary, the platform states, to declare that the Republic of South Africa is a terrorist state and to impose comprehensive economic sanctions on it.

The Democrats simultaneously express their readiness "to use force if this proves necessary to uphold existing commitments in the security sphere, but to be in no hurry at the same time to resort to weapons," and to refrain from actions on the lines of those taken by the current administration in Honduras and Lebanon. The Democrats recognize the need for arms control. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a first positive step, the text of the platform states, which must be followed up by agreements on significant reductions in other nuclear arsenals. It is necessary to reduce the level of conventional arms in Europe. The Democrats have expressed themselves in favor of a total ban on chemical weapons and the ending of all nuclear weapon tests and against the utilization of space for military purposes.

Are you satisfied with the platform adopted by the convention?—I asked Senator C. Levin, who is attending the convention.

The platform is not binding on the future president, C. Levin said. However, I believe that if the Democrats win the elections, the process of arms reduction talks will be accelerated.

### Demichev Meets With U.S. Senators in Moscow

*PM2007150388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under general heading "Frank Conversations"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with U.S. Senators P. Gramm, R. Shelby, and S. Symms in the Kremlin on 19 July.

During a frank conversation, the visitors were briefed on the socioeconomic transformatons now taking place in the Soviet Union and the broad democratization of all spheres of social life. It was noted that the decisive condition for the successful progress of restructuring comprises the broadest possible involvement of working people in the innovative processes of acceleration, the implementation of reform of the political system, and the utmost enhancement of the role of the soviets. Emphasis was placed on the great importance of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which gave a powerful boost to renewal in the country.

For Soviet people, it was emphasized during the conversation, restructuring is inseparable from the affirmation of new political thinking in international affairs, a thinking that is based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference. The new Soviet foreign policy initiatives are aimed at achieving a more stable and safer world. There was detailed discussion of questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and ways to deepen bilateral contacts in the sphere of the economy, trade, energy, and ecology.

The senators expressed thanks for the opportunity given to them to visit the USSR and see the processes of restructuring for themselves. The visitors welcomed the steps aimed at achieving disarmament in the interests of peace, international cooperation, and better mutual understanding between the Soviet and U.S. peoples.

Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; USSR Supreme Soviet deputies Ye.P. Velikhov, V.N. Lobov, and Ye.M. Primakov; and U.S. Ambassador to the USSR J.F. Matlock took part in the conversation.

The U.S. senators visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum on the same day.

## China

### Gromyko Meets CPC Veteran Wu Xiuquan

*PM2007112388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: Talk in Kremlin"]

[Text] Wu Xiuquan is an eminent Chinese revolutionary, a CPC veteran, and one of modern China's major party and public figures. He is a member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission's Standing Committee, director of the Beijing Institute of International Strategic Studies, and chairman of the board of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society. For 5 years, until 1930, he was in the Soviet Union, studied at the Sun Yat-Sen University and served in the Red Army in Khabarovsk. For many years he held eminent command posts in the Chinese Red Army and was then in diplomatic work, including in the post of PRC deputy foreign minister. He has visited the Soviet Union many times.

He is now a guest of our country again and is heading a delegation in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

A.A. Gromyko received the eminent Chinese guest in the Kremlin 19 July.

Wu Xiuquan spoke of his impressions of his tour in the Soviet Union and his visits to Moscow, Leningrad, and Riga. Your changes are impressive, he said. What I have seen on previous trips to the USSR, and that was nearly

25 years ago, bears no comparison with what I saw today. Your restructuring and the results of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are meeting with a great response in the world. We wish the Soviet people new successes in all their restructuring concerns.

At the guest's request, A.A. Gromyko described the state and prospects of Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet people are satisfied that these relations have been developed, that trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation has expanded, that contacts have increased in the field of culture, education, and sport, and that parliamentary ties and direct contacts between regions, cities, and individual enterprises and organizations are developing. This process is being promoted to a considerable degree by the Soviet-Chinese and Sino-Soviet friendship societies, which are making great efforts to consolidate the traditional friendly and good-neighborly relations between our two countries.

At the same time we believe that the reserves for our cooperation are far from exhausted. I want to confirm once again that the Soviet side is prepared to conduct a full-blooded dialogue with China at any level, at any time, and on any issue.

We know, A.A. Gromyko noted, that people abroad are attentively following the development of our relations. Many people are looking openly but some people are looking through a small chink, supposing that they can see any intrigues that we are allegedly undertaking against others. But you can understand that we have no intrigues against any third side.

For his part Wu Xiuquan stressed that the Chinese side's opinion on a wide range of questions of Sino-Soviet relations coincides with the USSR's position. The Chinese people experience friendly feelings toward the Soviet people and hope for the improvement of relations between the two countries. During their stay in the Soviet Union the delegation members and he personally felt kindly toward the Chinese people.

China notes with great satisfaction, Wu Xiuquan said, that in recent years positive changes have been taking place in relations between our countries and the peoples' mutual interest in each other has been increasing. The PRC Government is seeking to normalize the situation in Soviet-Chinese relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. This, the guest said, benefits our peoples, the cause of restructuring in the USSR, the economic reform in the PRC, and the cause of peace and stability in Asia.

The results of the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Joint Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation this year, of the 12th round of political consultations between the two countries, and of the third round of talks on border issues are good signs of the successful development of relations. As chairman of the board of the Sino-Soviet friendship society, Wu Xiuquan said that he sees his task in promoting the further improvement of relations between the PRC and the USSR.

Taking into account the guest's wish, A.A. Gromyko described the Soviet people's affairs connected with restructuring. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference recently completed its work and elaborated a strategy for the further democratization of the life of all society, the implementation of a reform of the political system, and the expansion of glasnost. The main result of the conference is that the strategy of restructuring in all spheres of the economy and social practice is being filled with specific content and the political system existing in the country is on the eve of fundamental transformations.

Wu Xiuquan. You and I have witnessed various periods in relations between China and the Soviet Union. We have lived through difficult, zigzagging years in these relations and years when relations were good. I think that only one conclusion can be drawn from this—we must promote the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

A.A. Gromyko, on this plan we act in essentially one direction. And our aims should also be virtually the same—peace and the aversion of the threat of war. The Soviet Union is fully determined to implement this policy. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has frequently stated this.

The interlocutors were united in the belief that under the present conditions of the world today there is no alternative to the policy of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

Wu Xiuquan conveyed greetings to A.A. Gromyko from PRC Yang Shangkun.

Concluding the talk, A.A. Gromyko stressed that the Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible for the further development of relations between the two countries and asked to express to the Chinese people wishes for success in socialist building, prosperity, and peace. He conveyed greetings to PRC President Yang Shangkun and National People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Wan Li.

The talk took place in a friendly atmosphere.

The meeting was attended by V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

## Demichev Meets With PRC Parliamentarians

*LD2007150588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under general heading "Frank Conversations"]

[Text] In the afternoon of 19 July P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with a delegation of the PRC National People's Congress Law Committee [yuridicheskaya komissiya] headed by Committee Vice Chairman Song Rufen.

P.N. Demichev spoke about the profound changes occurring in all spheres of Soviet society's life, including the political, economic, and legislative spheres. At the visitors' request, he spoke of the experience accumulated by the USSR in the course of restructuring and briefed them on the process of democratization and expansion of glasnost which was given a new boost by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

It was noted that Soviet people welcome the progress in relations between our countries. Thanks to mutual efforts, much is changing for the better in them. The Soviet side will continue to do everything to ensure that cooperation with the PRC remains on an upward path. Large-scale processes of transformations are taking place in the USSR and China, and solutions and approaches in line with today's demands are being sought. In this context the reciprocal exchange of accumulated experience acquires major importance. The sides spoke in favor of the further development of exchanges between the USSR and PRC supreme organs of power for the benefit of both countries' peoples.

The members of the Chinese delegation expressed thanks to the USSR Supreme Soviet for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to them in Moscow. Song Rufen conveyed greetings and best wishes to the Soviet leadership from the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Taking part in the conversation were Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commission; and PRC Ambassador to the USSR Yu Hongliang.

## Nikolayev on Trade, Joint Economic Ties

*OW1807063488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 11 Jul 88*

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] According to the communique from the 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] held recently in Prague, the CEMA members will expand and deepen cooperation with other socialist countries. In this connection, our station commentator Nikolayev has the following commentary:

As we have already reported in our broadcasts, one of the major achievements of the CEMA session is the approval of a collective concept of the international socialist division of labor, which will become the basis for reform to be carried out by the 10 CEMA members from 1991 to 2005. In his speech at the meeting, Soviet Premier Ryzhkov said: This collective concept will lay a solid foundation for mutually beneficial cooperation with other non-CEMA socialist countries, particularly China. The recently held Soviet-Chinese talks have indicated great potential for developing Soviet-Chinese economic ties.

How are the prospects? Presently trade is the primary form of Soviet-Chinese economic relations, and remarkable achievements have been made in bilateral trade in recent years, particularly in the rapid growth of border trade. An agreement on developing and improving bilateral trade as quickly as possible was signed at a regular meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Committee for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation held in Beijing in early June. The meeting also discussed the possibilities for upgrading the Soviet-Chinese cooperation. The Chinese side expressed an interest in the long-term plan for developing Soviet-Chinese trade, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation before the year 2000, which was proposed by the Soviet Delegation. Prospects for the proposed cooperation are encouraging in areas of mutual interest, such as the fuel and energy industry for China and the integrated agricultural and industrial organizations for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also called for more active scientific and technical exchange on a commercial basis and joint efforts to formulate and carry out key scientific and technical research projects in such fields as nuclear energy, electricity, and computer technology. There is a great potential for setting up Soviet-Chinese joint ventures. The Soviet Union has already approved the principle governing the establishment of Soviet-foreign joint ventures.

In short, the prospects are indeed bright for developing Soviet-Chinese cooperation in all fields. As reform proceeds in both countries, the mechanisms of foreign economic relations will provide favorable conditions for carrying out bilateral cooperation, which is conducive to further improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations as well as strengthening the world socialist system.

## USSR, PRC To Cooperate in Antarctic Research

*OW2007134088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Soviet and Chinese scientists are planning to conduct joint Antarctic research. In order to reach an agreement on this project, a delegation of Chinese experts has arrived in Moscow. The delegation is headed

by Qian Zhihong, executive vice chairman of China's National Antarctic Research Committee. (Yeliseyev), an observer of this station, has the following report on the event:

Scientists throughout the world are especially interested in Antarctica, the sixth continent in the world. [passage omitted] A Chinese delegation is holding talks with its Soviet counterpart on cooperation in Antarctic research.

I asked Qian Zhihong, head of the Chinese delegation, what is of interest to Chinese Antarctic researchers.

[Begin Qian Zhihong recording] This delegation comes to the Soviet Union in accordance with an agreement reached between the governments of our two countries on scientific and technological exchanges. The first purpose of our visit is to exchange information on the organization and personnel in each other's Antarctic expedition teams and to establish closer ties between government organizations of the two countries. We have met with personnel of various Soviet departments. We will also meet with the leading comrades of the Soviet hydrological, meteorological, and environmental protection committee tomorrow. From now on, we will be able to keep in touch with them and the channel of contact will remain open. The second purpose of our visit is to learn from the rich experience of Soviet comrades in this respect. The third purpose is to explore the possibility, contents, and form of further cooperation in the future. [end recording]

According to Qian Zhihong, Soviet and Chinese Antarctic researchers have already had some experience of cooperation with each other. China's Changcheng Station is only several kilometers from the Soviet Union's [name indistinct] Station. Soon after the Chinese station was established in the Antarctic, Soviet researchers there provided a lot of assistance to their Chinese counterparts. Qian Zhihong mentioned the assistance.

[Begin Qian Zhihong recording] After we had just gotten there, Soviet personnel gave us a lot of help in transportation and fuel supply, such as cooking gas and diesel oil. [end recording]

Towards the end of the interview, I asked Qian Zhihong: What form of cooperation did you propose during the current talks?

[Begin Qian Zhihong recording] We discussed how to cooperate with other countries in Antarctic research with regard to exchange of data, exchange of visits by scientists to do research at each other's stations or ships, and exchange of visits by scientists to lecture or do scientific research in each other's country. In my opinion, these forms of cooperation are feasible to us and to Soviet comrades. I think that the channel of cooperation will remain open in the future and the cooperation will be closer. The prospects are good. [end recording]

## RENMIN RIBAO Article on Party Purity Noted

*LD1707023188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Jul 88*

[Text] Beijing, 16 Jul (TASS)—Today the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the CPC Central Committee organ, publishes an extensive commentary in which the problems of purity in the ranks of China's party and government apparatus are discussed.

The CPC, the newspaper points out, is a party which serves the people selflessly. Our government is also invariably incorruptibly honest and puts the interests of society above all else. In the last few years, however, such phenomena have been observed as "actions for mercenary purposes under the pretext of the interests of society, the abuse of power, extortion and blackmail, corruption, and bribery." Similar unlawful actions, RENMIN RIBAO stresses, "are torpedoing the interests of society and the people, blackening the name of the party and state institutions, and damaging the prestige of the reform. These actions cannot fail to evoke rage."

In most regions and autonomous regions of China, special provisions have been publicized lately which determine what the style of party and administrative departments should be like. "As for the demands by the masses that party and government bodies should be selfless and honest, that the CPC Central Committee should be determined, and that efforts by the party and government leadership at all levels should be determined—that is good. Development of some or other provisions is not complex, but it will take longstanding and relentless efforts to implement them consistently in order to attain results," RENMIN RIBAO notes.

Bringing criminal charges against someone or appealing to morality is not sufficient to wage a successful struggle against corruption, the paper believes. Economic reform and restructuring the country's political system open up opportunities for a radical solution of this problem. The commentary also points out that the mass media have an important role to play. The media must reflect the views of the masses and reveal to them facts about illegal actions in a timely manner.

## Heilongjiang Expands Trade With Maritime Kray

*OW2007000288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 15 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, during the several contacts between Maritime Kray and Heilongjiang Province many events occurred for the first time. For example, the first meeting has just been held at Vladivostok between light industry representatives from Maritime Kray and Heilongjiang. Our reporter (Moiseyeva) reports:

The Chinese and Soviet sides have been gaining experience on cooperation from (?their contacts here). This has enhanced the highly specialized knowledge of the participants and enabled them to swiftly and comprehensively

settle many issues at the first meeting. (Xiao Fang), president of the Heilongjiang chapter of the China Trade Promotion Society, led the Chinese delegation. The Soviet side was led by Comrade (Likhovenko), director of the Light Industry and Consumers Goods Department of the Maritime Kray CPSU Committee.

At the meeting (Likhovenko) said: We hope to forward specific proposals regarding the use of our raw materials by Chinese enterprises to produce garments. We also hope to place our orders for common leather goods from China, and (?easily-dyed rough cloth) and (?sewn cloth-leather) from Chinese enterprises. Let us also discuss the possibility of setting up joint ventures to produce children's garments.

The meeting was held in this manner. The two sides paid special attention to the establishment of joint ventures. Comrade (Xiao Fang) assessed the (?proposals) by his Soviet counterparts. Comrade (Xiao Fang) said: We fully agree with your proposals. We can produce according to your designs, and make our own patterns. Heilongjiang now has many factories producing children's garments, and most of their products are exported. At present, we are renovating our factories to manufacture goods required by Soviet consumers. [passage omitted]

The two sides also exchanged specific views on cooperation in other areas, such as (?sewing equipment) and ladies' handbags and jackets. They discussed their future plans in detail. For example, the Chinese side disagreed on [words indistinct] cloth because the volume was too small and uneconomical. The Soviet side immediately increased the volume. The two sides also agreed to exchange specialists and planned to do so in August. In any case, the road to cooperation between Maritime Kray and Heilongjiang Province under a new arrangement has been mapped out. The two sides signed a protocol regarding intentions to cooperate in these areas.

(Xiao Fang), president of the Heilongjiang chapter of the China Trade Promotion Society, discussed his visit and gave his impression of his Soviet counterparts: The main intention of our visit is to expand trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. During this period we have been working intensely and have met many managers. All these meetings have been fruitful. A common border links Heilongjiang Province and Maritime Kray. This has facilitated our cooperation. Trade is being conducted between the people of our two countries. After the signing of the agreement to restore border trade between China and USSR in 1983, trade has been expanding well. The scope of cooperation has been gradually widening. We strongly believe that, in the future, our (?barter trade) will grow very quickly.

## Northeast Asia

### Japan's Former Premier Nakasone Visits USSR

#### Political 'Step Forward' Seen

*LD2007173688 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 20 JUl 88*

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports: Yasuhiro Nakasone, former prime-minister of Japan and now a deputy of Parliament from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, has arrived in the Soviet Union today at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

The Soviet diplomatic community regards the visit as a step forward on the road to a broader Soviet-Japanese political dialogue, wider parliamentary contacts between the two countries and closer links with the Liberal-Democratic Party.

Objectively, the Soviet and the Japanese positions in the world and in the region call for an expanded cooperation on a healthy and realistic basis, unencumbered by the problems of the past. The USSR is doing all it can to achieve such cooperation. But, as an oriential saying goes, you cannot handclap with one hand. The status of Soviet-Japanese relations depends as much on the USSR as it does on Japan.

The Soviet Union assigns a priority significance to the Asian- Pacific component of its foreign policy. The proof thereof is the large-scale programme of the USSR's new, creative approaches to the problems of the Asia-Pacific region (APR), laid out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok in July 1986. The programme was followed up in his answers to the questions of the Indonesian newspaper "MERDEKA" and of the Chinese journal "LIAOWANG"

At issue, above all, is the need to involve the APR in the general process of setting in place a comprehensive system of international security. This raises in the first place the need to settle regional conflicts. A major step in this direction has already been made—the signing of the Geneva Accords opened up a real possibility for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, sent into Afghanistan in 1979 at the request of the Afghan Government, has begun and is proceeding according to the agreed schedule. Movement towards ending the Kampuchean conflict appears to be acquiring momentum. This became especially evident following Vietnam's decision to withdraw a half of its troops from Kampuchea during this year.

The Soviet Union, rather than paying only lip service, is actually working to erect a barrier in the way of the proliferation and build- up of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. As is know, the USSR has included in

the Soviet-American INF treaty its missiles in Asia as well. It became the first nuclear power which signed and ratified the relevant protocols of the Treaty of Rarotonga, which marked the establishment of the first nuclear-free zone in the APR.

As Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Commitee, said in his report to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, "in the years of perestroyka we have improved or initiated relations with a large number of states, neighbouring and very distant. and we have worsened relations with none." This statement is fully applicable to the Asia-Pacific Region. The Soviet Union has envigorated the political dialogue with practically all APR countries at all levels, including the highest level, and our relations with the region's countries have become more dynamic and meaningful.

It goes without saying that much has yet to be done, and guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive processes which have gotten under way are still lacking. So what lies ahead is persistent, painstaking and creative work of a drastic improvement of the situation in the region, which would accomodate the interests and views of all the parties concerned.

### Meeting With Gorbachev Planned

*OW2107001688 Tokyo KYODO in English 2329 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 21 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone arrived here Wednesday afternoon (midnight, Japan time) for a week-long visit to the Soviet Union to hold talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Nakasone will discuss bilateral relations with Gorbachev on Friday, including Japanese territorial claims over four Soviet-held islands east of Hokkaido, as well as latest international developments, according to Nakasone's aides.

He will also give a lecture on international affairs on Thursday.

He is being accompanied by Takao Fujinami, former chief cabinet secretary, and Tokutaro Higaki, former minister of posts and telecommunications.

Nakasone and his party will return to Tokyo July 26.

### Addresses Territorial Issue

*OW2107091288 Tokyo KYODO in English 0826 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 21 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on Thursday urged the Soviet Union to settle a territorial dispute with Japan which Moscow says does not exist.

Nakasone also called for an early visit to Japan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The former Japanese leader, in a speech at a research institute here, asked the Soviet Union to show sincerity in settling the dispute involving four islands off Hokkaido.

He was the second Japanese politician to give a lecture in Moscow this year, following Japan Socialist Party leader Takako Doi who spoke at Moscow University in early May.

Unfortunately, Japan and the Soviet Union have so far been unable to develop bilateral ties, chiefly because they have not yet concluded a peace pact which would provide a basis on which to build mutual trust, Nakasone said.

No sufficient development of Japan-Soviet ties can be expected unless the two countries establish a stable political framework under a peace treaty, he said.

Nakasone, who arrived here Wednesday on a week-long visit at the invitation of a Supreme Soviet parliamentary group, said it would be a start for Moscow to reconsider its inflexible attitude toward Japan's claim on the islands—Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomais.

After that, he said, the two countries can open talks to improve and develop bilateral ties.

Nakasone also called for more frequent consultations both at foreign minister and summit levels in Tokyo and Moscow alternately as part of the attempt to expand political dialogue between the two countries.

A Gorbachev visit to Japan, if realized, will be meaningful in promoting intergovernmental dialogue, he said.

### Lauds Soviet Leadership

*OW2107092688 Tokyo KYODO in English 0858 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 21 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone here Thursday praised the Soviet Union for the changes in its foreign policy line under the country's new leadership, but called on the Soviets to put it more into practice by taking the initiative in settling disputes with Japan and other nations.

Nakasone, in a speech before a Soviet research institute, also proposed a complete restructuring of the postwar East-West antagonistic relationship in which Stalinist expansionism has been countered by the West's policy of containment.

He praised the Soviets for what he saw as "new ideas" being initiated in Soviet foreign policy, as shown in the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the conclusion of the intermediate nuclear forces (INF) treaty with the United States.

Nakasone called on the Soviets to take their initiatives even further by helping to lower tensions on the Korean Peninsula, lending support to the Kampuchean peace process, and resolving the "northern territories" issue with Japan.

He said the Soviets should reconsider their uncompromising stand on the question of returning to Japanese sovereignty the disputed islands off Hokkaido, which they seized at the end of World War II.

Nakasone, currently on a week-long visit to the Soviet Union since Wednesday, noted that the expansionist ideology of Stalinism, which he blamed for the breakdown of trust between East and West immediately following World War II, is now undergoing reappraisal in the Soviet Union.

Nakasone said that a new structure for relations between East and West should be developed at this juncture. Opportunities are being created for the building of a new East-West relationship, he said.

Nakasone said vestiges of the Cold War should be completely settled through expanded negotiation and that economic strength should be given priority over military strength in order to raise people's standards of living.

"I'm not talking about something with the same mood as detente, I'm saying that a drive for a demonstrable (new) relationship is needed," Nakasone said.

He said the goal could be accomplished in the span of 10-20 years if both countries relied on regular negotiation to settle their differences.

Nakasone lauded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for steps he has taken to ensure respect for human rights, open the channels of information, and increase democratization. He is expected to hold talks with Gorbachev on Friday.

Nakasone said that expanded contacts between Moscow and Tokyo will pave the way for an eventual visit by Gorbachev to Japan.

He said his purpose in visiting the Soviet Union was to see for himself "what kind of problems are being faced by Soviet society and how the Soviet people are grappling with them."

He said he also wished to find out how the people appraise Gorbachev's perestroyka movement and "what kind of future they paint for themselves."

"I have a great interest in seeing whether the people have a twinkle in their eyes," Nakasone said.

The former prime minister will meet Gorbachev on Friday and will return to Tokyo on Tuesday.

## Expanded Economic Cooperation With Japan Urged

*OW2007141388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[(Ivan Olgin) commentary]

[Text] Recently, a new agreement on a joint venture to breed salmon was signed in Moscow by representatives of the Sakhalin fishing cooperative and the All-Japan Federation of Salmon Drift-Net Fishing Unions. This will be the fourth Soviet-Japanese joint venture. The new joint venture involves the building of a salmon hatchery in Sakhalin. In connection with this rather rare, gratifying event in Soviet-Japanese technological exchange, let us talk about the present state of bilateral trade and economic cooperation and the prospects for its further development.

When we consider the present state of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic exchange, we reach the conclusion that the level reached so far is completely disproportionate to the potential of the two countries. The Soviet share in Japanese trade is below 1.5 percent, similar to Singapore, whose population is less than 1 percent of the Soviet population. On the other hand, last year, Japan fell from third to fifth place in Soviet trade with advanced capitalists countries. The decline in the Soviet trade volume with Japan last year appears even more significant when contrasted with the rise in Soviet trade with West European countries such as Italy, Britain, Belgium, and Sweden.

One of the reasons for the stagnation in Soviet-Japanese trade is the fact that Japan continues to impose artificial obstacles to trade expansion. Of course, the USSR does not question Japan's sovereign right to set a limit on exportable commodities. However, it is also evident that the various restrictive measures on trade with the USSR clearly run counter to the provisions of the Soviet-Japanese trade agreement. This agreement provides for mutual granting of most-favored-nation status. Thus, the Japanese restrictions cannot be taken but as discriminatory measures against the USSR.

Of course, we understand that there are objective difficulties in the effort to develop Soviet-Japanese trade. In the past 10 or 15 years, the Japanese industrial structure has undergone a great change. The consumption of energy and raw material in social production has been significantly reduced. For this reason, Japan has less need to import fuels and raw materials than before. Meanwhile, the USSR does not wish either to maintain an export structure which relies heavily on fuel. It hopes

to export more highly processed products. Thus, consultations on the improvement of trade in the future and the search for the expansion of trade on a balanced basis will be in the interest of both countries.

It is a well-known fact that under the agreement reached during the 11th joint session of the USSR-Japan and Japan-USSR economic committees, a major delegation of Japanese industrialists will join an official level delegation on its visit of the USSR this autumn. Preparations to receive this delegation are under way in the USSR. We hope that the visit of the Japanese economic inspection delegation will be a beneficial and fruitful one for working-level exchanges between the two countries.

Needless to say, the search for and the wide-ranging introduction of a new exchange setup will be very effective for invigorating Soviet-Japanese trade and economic cooperation. A year and a half has passed since the Soviet government promulgated a law setting down the rules on the establishment of joint ventures between Soviet organs and enterprises of capitalist or developing countries in the Soviet Union. On the USSR's part, it considers joint ventures as new forms of economic cooperation under new regulations.

One year and a half, of course, is not a long period. However, the USSR has been able to draw some conclusions to a certain extent. In the past 18 months, more than 60 joint ventures with foreign capital have been formed. Among them, only four are USSR-Japanese joint ventures, namely, aside from the joint venture in salmon hatching mentioned above: the Igirma-Tairiku lumbering venture, Raduga Sport which plans to build and manage sports and fitness centers and sports facilities, and (Shinko), which will deal in the processing and marketing of fish.

Apparently, on the whole, efforts of Japanese financial circles in opening up the Soviet market are still far behind those of other Western nations. This is quite clear when we consider that Soviet joint ventures with West Germany number 11, while there are 9 with Finland and 7 with Italy.

At present, there is an improvement in the international situation on the one hand, and a restructuring of the management mechanism in the USSR on the other. This situation is giving rise to favorable conditions for the expansion of Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation. Active utilization of the potential for strengthening the interdependent cooperation we have started off will undoubtedly be an important factor in consolidating overall Soviet-Japanese friendly relations.

### Petrovskiy Meets With DPRK Foreign Minister

*PM1907083588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is in Pyongyang, has been received by Kim Yong-nam, member of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister.

Consultations were held at the DPRK Foreign Ministry, in which the following took part: On the Soviet side, A.M. Belonogov, permanent Soviet representative to the United Nations; on the Korean side, first deputy minister Kang Sok-chu, deputy minister Kim Hyong-yul, and heads of departments.

There was an in-depth discussion of international problems and, in particular, of problems relating to the formation of a reliable security system in the Asian and Pacific region and making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### SRV Hands Over U.S. Crew Involved in Crash

*LD1907194488 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] Ho Chi Minh July 19 TASS—Today three American servicemen who had been saved by Vietnamese military sailors on July 12, were handed over here to U.S. representatives. Their light plane which had been on a flight between Singapore and the Philippines crashed into the South Chinese Sea in the area of the Spratly Islands. TASS learnt that the U.S. side expressed gratitude for saving the plane crew and has no claims to actions of the Vietnamese side. A representative of the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok who arrived in Ho Chi Minh, said in a short interview with TASS that the U.S. side was grateful to Vietnam for saving the pilots and for their humane treatment. Today the plane crew departed for Bangkok by a special flight.

### Radon Leaks at U.S. Bases in Japan

*LD1907171288 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] Tokyo July 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

The command of the U.S. Armed Forces in Japan for the first time confirmed officially that the radon gas had been detected at two U.S. military bases in this country. This admission is contained in a special written explanation which was sent today to the TASS office in Tokyo by the head of the information service of the U.S. Armed Forces in Japan after repeated requests by TASS. It confirmed, inter alia, that radon had been detected at several buildings in the U.S. Air Bases Kadena and Yokota during a preliminary inspection. However, the reply says nothing that the gas is radioactive and its concentration at the Kadena Base on Okinawa, as the REUTER agency reported on Saturday referring to the U.S. Air Force, reached a potentially dangerous level.

The information service of the U.S. Armed Forces makes emphasis on the fact that radon forms in a natural way and can be detected anywhere in the world. However, in the recent past the Japanese press reported nothing that a concentration of this radioactive gas, capable of causing cancer diseases, was registered anywhere in the country. In Italy where radon concentration exceeding several times permissible levels was also detected at the U.S. base Aviano, many directly connect this with stationing nuclear weapons at the base. Japanese democratic organizations believe that, despite the three "nonnuclear principles" officially proclaimed by Tokyo, these weapons are secretly stationed at U.S. bases in Japan, including Okinawa.

**Gorbachev, Nguyen Van Linh 'Exchange of Views'**
*LD2007192988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 20 July (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today had a friendly meeting in the Kremlin with Nguyen Van Linh, who is vacationing in the USSR.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the CPSU Central Committee plans for implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. Democratization of the party and society and radical reform of the political system would enable the masses of working people to be brought into management and self-management, would given them a real opportunity to express and uphold their own interests in production and in the labor collectives, and also in the territorial context, through the elected bodies of power. Herein lies the key to success of the economic reform, too. A guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring is to be found in the broad support of the Soviet people for the envisaged transformations. We are endeavouring to open up the potential of socialism to the maximum. This is a very complicated, difficult task, but the conference showed that we are on the right road.

Nguyev Van Linh pointed out that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference produced a great political impact in Vietnam, just like everywhere else in the world. Despite the different conditions of the two countries, Vietnamese Communists are making wide use of the theoretical and practical experience of Soviet restructuring in their struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 6th congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam and for overcoming the difficulties being experienced by the country, and renewal of all aspects of the life of Vietnamese society.

An important place in the conversation of the leaders of the fraternal parties was occupied by questions of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. Attention was drawn to the existence of significant reserves in economic cooperation. Their utilization is not infrequently hampered by inflexibility of ministries and departments which will maintain bureaucratic barriers.

A common view was voiced on the need to open up maximum scope for the establishment of direct links between the enterprises and economic organizations of the two countries. Those taking part in the talks agreed to work on a number of specific issues through government channels.

In the exchange of views on topical issues of the international situation, particular attention was given to the situation around Kampuchea. This is developing in a positive direction thanks to the policy of national reconciliation being consistently conducted by the PRK Government. Nguyen Van Linh reiterated the SRV's intention to withdraw half the contingent of Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea within the current year; the remainder are to be placed under the command of the PRK. Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed this act of goodwill by socialist Vietnam and expressed the conviction that it will meet a due response among all who sincerely strive to settle the conflict.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam are prepared actively to continue to facilitate the unblocking of the situation around Kampuchea. The PRC could make a weighty contribution to solving the Kampuchean problem. Nguyen Van Linh stressed that Vietnam is in favor of a constructive dialogue with China on the basis of equal rights and the reciprocal taking into account by the sides of each other's interests.

The Soviet and Vietnamese leaders noted the great significance of the "informal meeting" currently being prepared in Indonesia of the four Kampuchean sides and a number of other interested states. They expressed the hope that this meeting will substantially advance the search for a solution to the Kampuchean problem and will facilitate the deepening of mutual understanding between the states of Indochina and ASEAN and an improvement in the political climate in Southeast Asia. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 20 July carries an identical report, adding at this point: "Taking part in the conversation, that passed off in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, were Comrade Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nguyen Manh Cam, SRV Ambassador to the USSR."]

**ASEAN Focuses on Cambodia, Economic Issues**
*OW1607140888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1020 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] The annual conference of ASEAN Ministers of Foreign Affairs—the 21st of its kind—has ended in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand.

Membership of this unique political and economic organization founded in 1967 consists of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Brunei. Considerable attention was devoted by the conference

participants to the question of Cambodia, culminating with a call to the international community to exert all efforts for the peaceful normalization of this problem.

A communique outlining the results of the conference also reflects ASEAN's position on the question of creating a peace zone in Southeast Asia. The ASEAN countries have spoken out in favor of making the region free of nuclear weapons.

The conference expressed serious alarm at the economic difficulties the countries of the region are experiencing. This is, above all, low prices for raw materials and other products which traditionally make up their exports. Also, the questions of growing debts and the protectionist measures implemented by the industrially developed capitalist states are inhibiting the developing countries' development of trade.

It would appear that these questions will be the center of attention at the forthcoming meeting of senior ASEAN foreign ministry officials, as well as those from the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Japan, as well as an EEC delegation.

## Near East & South Asia

### Khomeyni Endorses Resolution 598; 'Aziz Cited

*LD2007162188 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Nicosia July 20 TASS—Speaking today on Radio Tehran, Ayatollah Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, announced that he had agreed to Security Council Resolution 598, although the decision, which he adopted upon recommendation of the country's political leaders, proved to be an "extremely difficult" one for him to take. "We, Khomeyni said, have officially accepted the ceasefire. It is not our objective to continue the war on the basis of a new strategy."

Baghdad, July 20 (TASS)—Until Iran has adopted practical, tangible steps towards the establishment of a complete and durable peace, Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi foreign minister said in an interview with the INA news agency, it would be more logical to consider that the war continues. Iraq, the foreign minister said, reserves itself the right to adopt measures in keeping with this assessment.

### Gromyko, Egypt's Al-Mahjub Discuss Relations

*LD2007211488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1659 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow 20 Jul (TASS)—Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today a delegation from the Egyptian People's Assembly headed by its chairman, Rif'at al-Mahjub. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Andrey Gromyko and Rif'at al-Mahjub held discussions on a broad range of issues.

In particular, a package of issues concerning Soviet-Egyptian relations was examined. The Egyptian visitor's comments on this matter were expressed in a positive key. On President H. Mubarak's personal instructions he praised these relations and expressed gratitude that Egypt's desire to develop them is meeting with understanding in the Soviet Union.

They stressed the importance of developing relations between the two countries in all spheres: political, economic, scientific, cultural, and others. The Egyptian side expressed a wish to broaden cooperation in the industrial sphere more quickly. The visitor remarked that in the 1950's and 1960's there were quite good contacts deepening the collaboration of our two countries. This was when the Aswan Dam was being built, and in our days it would not be a bad idea to make use of this experience.

In his turn Andrey Gromyko reminded the Egyptian visitors how the Soviet Union fought for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. As for the Aswan, its light was visible far beyond Egypt's borders, perhaps throughout the Near East and Africa. Nobody can tear these pages from the history of Soviet-Egyptian ties.

New impetus is now being given to Soviet-Egyptian relations. We believe in the heart of the Egyptian people and in that of our own people. The two peoples wish to be friends. Their intentions are dictated both by the requirements of bilateral relations and by the situation in the world.

The interlocutors noted with satisfaction that, thanks to the joint efforts of the sides, there has been a definite advance in Soviet-Egyptian relations in recent years. Trade and economic cooperation based on mutual advantage has been perceptibly stepped up and political dialogue is expanding. The sides confirmed a mutual desire to continue and deepen contacts at all levels. Also touched upon was the issue of interparliamentary links which are being developed.

Various aspects of the situation in the Near East were discussed. Israel should end its policy of expansion and that region should live in conditions of peace. The Soviet Union occupies just such a position.

The interlocutors agreed on the need to convene an international conference on the Near East. It really must be an international one, and that means that all the interested sides must be at the negotiating table. This includes the permanent members of the UN Security Council and representatives of the PLO, as the sole legitimate exponent of the hopes of the Arab people of Palestine.

Rif'at al-Mahjub set out his country's position on the problem of the departure of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel. It is well known that the Israeli authorities often settle them on the West Bank of the Jordan or in the Gaza Strip, expelling Arabs from there. The Americans assert that human rights are being defended with regard to the Jews. But what about the Arabs' human rights in that case? If we Egyptians were offered the right to choose, we would come out for the right of the Jews to stay in the Soviet Union and not to leave for Israel, so that they would not occupy the Arab lands. In other words, the right of the Jews to emigrate from the USSR now means pandering to the eviction of Arabs from their lands.

The leader of the Egyptian parliamentary delegation gave a high evaluation to the recently concluded Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty serves the interests of the whole world, including those of small nations. At the same time, nuclear arms remain a threat to peace, and the process of nuclear disarmament must not be halted. In Egypt's opinion, therefore, those countries which also have nuclear arsenals must be involved in the present Soviet-U.S. disarmament dialogue.

Andrey Gromyko and Rif'at al-Mahjub expressed their common deep satisfaction at the news, just received, that Iran has officially recognized UN Security Council Resolution 598 on the Iran-Iraq conflict. This means that one can expect that this protracted conflict will switch to peaceful political negotiations.

Andrey Gromyko related the Soviet position regarding the settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan. The meaning of the Geneva accords, in accordance with which the Soviet Union has begun the withdrawal of its limited military contingent from Afghanistan, is familiar to all. Nevertheless, Pakistan and the United States are impeding in every way the fulfillment of the Geneva accords, are working against them, and are continuing to send arms to the Afghan dushmans. The Soviet Union wants Afghanistan to be an independent, nonaligned state, and will do everything to achieve this.

In conclusion, at the request of the Egyptian guests Andrey Gromyko spoke about the present stage of restructuring, which has enveloped all spheres of the life of Soviet society. The profound changes which are happening are directed toward implementing cardinal transformations in the socioeconomic face of socialism. The 19th all-union party conference adopted a number of decisions important to the destinies of the party and the people. The reform of the political system remains to be implemented. Restructuring carries within it an immense foreign policy potential and is actively working for peace.

The main thing here, Andrey Gromyko stressed, is that we are striving to make people's lives better and richer. Our party is convinced that this task can be fulfilled.

On behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the whole Soviet leadership, Andrey Gromyko conveyed best wishes to Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and prosperity and goodwill to the Egyptian people on behalf of the Soviet people.

The conversation passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere typical of the relations which have developed between the Soviet Union and the Arab Republic of Egypt.

### 'Internecine Clashes' Among Afghan Rebels

*LD2007195188 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 20 TASS—The "Alliance of Seven", or the "Islamic Alliance of Mujahidin of Afghanistan", set up to unite the Afghan anti-government forces, has proved unable to fulfill its mission. This conclusion is supported by regular reports attesting to an accumulation of contradictions between the "Islamic parties" and their combat groups, which frequently spill out into armed clashes. In recent days internecine infighting between opposed groups took place in some of the Afghan provinces. Veritable battles in Laghman, Farah, Kapisa, Nangarhar, Parvan, the district of Shakardar (the Province of Kabul) left no less than 50 extremists dead and about 100 wounded.

Meanwhile, the arena for the internecine clashes between rebels is not confined to Afghan territory. Thus, in the area of the town of Parachinar (Pakistan) armed men from the "Hezb-e Eslami" ambushed an armed group of the "Jamiyat-e Eslami" heading for Afghanistan. The clash resulted in a total of 50 dead and 65 wounded on both sides. The dead and the wounded were taken to Peshawar and turned over to the relatives. The incident was discussed during a confidential meeting between Hikmatyar and Rabbani—leaders of the two factions—to prevent a repetition of similar clashes in the future. To forestall an undesirable reaction from the rank-and-filers of the armed formations and from refugees, Hikmatyar and Rabbani decided to hush up the incident and to bury the dead as "heroes who died at the hands of Soviet soldiers". So a rumour was spread among the population and the refugees that the two groups had, allegedly, clashed with Soviet troops while approaching the Afghan border.

Serious contradictions also exist between Shi'ite antigovernment groupings with headquarters in Quetta (Pakistan). The relations between their leaders are characterised by the struggle for power and influence and by the desire to undermine the Iranian Government's confidence in other mujahid groupings. Thus, in recent months the organisations such as "Nasr", "Raad", the "United Front" and their ilk have waged a propaganda campaign to compromise Shaykh Asif Mohsin Qandahari, leader of "Harakat-e Eslami", a large Shi'ite faction, accusing him of being a careerist who has even

"betrayed the cause of Islam" for personal gain. The main reason for the attempts to compromise Qandahari, however, is his desire to pursue a course which is independent of the Iranian Government. Aware of this desire, Iranian authorities have begun, to some extent, to pose obstacles to the activities of "Harakat-e Eslami" in Iranian territory, by closing down, among other things, some of his committees. Qandahari was forced to leave Iran and move to Pakistan.

The so-called "transitional government", set up in Peshawar at the initiative of the "Alliance of Seven" leaders, is clearly unpopular with the commanders of the formations of the opposition operating in Afghanistan. In this connection, one may assess the tasks of the meeting of the commanders of groups and formations of the north-east of Afghanistan, to be convened at the initiative of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, as being clearly at variance with the policies of the "Alliance". The meeting in Panjshir is to elect an autonomous "government" of the northern and eastern provinces of the country.

### Afghan Letter to UN Accuses 'Extremists'

*LD2007190488 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 20 TASS—Abdul Wakil, Afghan foreign minister, sent the U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar a letter with a request to distribute it as an official document in the United Nations. The letter says that on July 15, 17, 19 and 20 extremists fired at the Afghan capital a total of 177 missiles, causing the death of 75 innocent people, including 21 children, and wounding 97. This barbarous action extended the list of crimes perpetrated by the "Peshawar Seven".

The Afghan people, the letter goes on to say, awaited with impatience the signing of the Geneva accords which were to end bloodshed and interference in the internal affairs of our country. Is it not time for Pakistan—a party to the accords and for the United States—their guarantor to realise that such methods of solving problems have no prospect of success? Their objective is clear: It is to sow fear among peaceful people, to prevent the refugees from returning home.

At present, when Afghanistan is taking practical steps to implement the Geneva accords, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops is proceeding strictly to schedule, our country cannot remain indifferent in the face of clear violations of the accords.

The letter requests the United Nations secretary general to use his high authority to prevent preparation of new crimes against the Afghan people.

### Pakistan Hindering Afghan Refugees' Return

*LD2007144388 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The return home by Afghan refugees is one of the parts of the process of political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan laid down by the Geneva accords.

However, the Pakistani authorities continue defying the accords by hampering repatriation, for example, the Pakistani Army and irregular border troops have set up their posts practically along the entire Afghan-Pakistani border to detain and return back into refugee camps those who manage to leave the camps and head for Afghanistan. In particular, at the Torkham checkpoint Pakistani police and troops conduct thorough questioning of people intending to cross the border. If suspected of having an intention to stay in their homeland the Afghans are forcibly returned to their camps.

The low rates at which refugees return to the homeland, an average 200 people cross into Afghanistan every week, are also explained by the wide-scale subversive campaign. Rumours are being spread among the refugees about the imminent capture by mujahidin of Qandahar, Qalat and Jalalabad. Naturally, the Afghans are afraid that they can find themselves in the zone of active combat operations if they return home.

However, the majority of refugees living in Pakistan continue to favour the return of Afghanistan and an end to the fratricidal war. For example, thousands of refugees in camps Thala, Hangu and Kuhata held recently a rally. They expressed an opinion, in particular, that Ahmad Shah's "interim government" could not help end the war in Afghanistan, that reconciliation was the only way out of the protracted conflict.

Pakistanis living in the areas close to the camps and Pushtun tribes on the border favour the return of refugees and unconditional observance of Geneva accords. This was reaffirmed by reports on the jirgah held in Surkhab camp on July 13. More than 500 elders and chiefs of the tribes Barek Zai, Alksu Zai and Achekzai condemned actions of the opposition aimed at continuing the fratricidal war and voiced their support for the policy of national reconciliation and Geneva accords.

### Soldier Returns From Dushman Captivity

*PM1907162588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 First Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "Return"]

[Text] Qandahar, Kabul—Army driver Private Abdulaziz Patakhanov, captured by rebels during an attack on one of our convoys, spent 103 days in captivity. The Soviet soldier did not lose his military honor. He staunchly withstood all the trials and was recently freed near Qandahar.

He stood there with our officers and men crowding around him, and he could not hold back his tears. He was dressed in a long shirt and baggy trousers of dirty green

color, and canvas boots that had been cut off at the top. He had spent 103 long and terrifying days in these clothes, 103 days, each of which could have been his last. The first thing he wanted to do as soon as he entered the Soviet military garrison was to wash and take off these hateful clothes that had belonged to someone else.

We met Pvt Abdulaziz Patakhanov in Qandahar. He was a man of few words, with a distant look in his tired brown eyes and an emaciated pale face. He made no secret of the fact that he still could not believe that he had returned from captivity and that everything that had happened to him during that time was a thing of the past.

Slowly, groping for words, Patakhanov began his story.

People who have been to Qandahar will remember a section of the road leading to the provincial center near Mirbazar village. Many a vehicle was put out of action here—sniped at from ambushes or blown up by mines. The charred or shattered shells of trucks, armored vehicles, and tanks litter the surroundings for miles.... All this broken hardware had been used to put up a kind of protective barrier along the road, a screen against bullets and shells. However, both our own and the Afghan drivers are always very careful in this iron corridor. They do not rely much on the protection of the screen and try to cover this part of the road as fast as possible.

On the morning of 5 March the convoy of Kamaz tanker trucks approached Mirbazar from Shindand. There was nothing to indicate trouble. The deserted alleys of the village came into sight. The drivers seemed completely unaware of the stinging, biting dust, the blinding rays of the sun, the nearby Rigestan desert—their whole attention was concentrated on the road.

The protracted signal rang out and the first truck driven by Senior Lieutenant A. Leonov moved forward, picking up speed. Pvt Patakhanov's truck followed. It was his 81st fuel run to Qandahar. Could the serviceman have known that he was not destined to complete this trip, that moments remained before the enemy rocket launcher was to fire...

The first tanker truck was disappearing in front in clouds of dust. Suddenly, Patakhanov was blinded by a ball of fire ahead of him. One of the trailers on the first truck was almost blown off by the shot from the rocket launcher. But the truck did not stop, it kept moving, leaving behind it a long black ribbon of smoke.

Got to try to push on, Patakhanov thought. If I stop I'll be a sitting duck for them. And he hit the gas pedal. It seemed that he had succeeded, the ruins of the village where the firing came from were behind him. But suddenly a column of fire burst up from directly underneath his cab. A cloud of black smoke obscured the shattered windshield.... "As long as the tanker doesn't explode," he thought. "If only I can make it another 150 meters or so, there are outposts...."

Abdulaziz drove the truck, which was engulfed in flames, out of the hail of bullets. He swerved off the road so as not to block the convoy's progress and leaped out of the burning cab into the ditch to drench his smoldering clothes. As soon as he got up someone jumped on him. He was knocked off his feet, bound, and dragged down a secret passage to the nearest house, and from there deeper into the village.

Hitting him with the butts of their rifles, they drove him away from the road where the battle was raging. The rebels were in a hurry. They were afraid they might be pursued and they did not want to lose the money which they had been promised by their ringleader for capturing a Soviet soldier. By nightfall they had pushed him into a house in a nameless village. Three men were squatting in the middle of the room. Later Abdulaziz learned that one of them was Talibdzhan [name as published], ringleader of an armed formation belonging to the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan. The two others, a European and an Arab, were advisers. The Arab, who was rather short, walked up to the Soviet serviceman, who was swaying on his feet from exhaustion, and without saying anything hit him in the face with the butt of his pistol. The European busied himself setting up video equipment. Then the questions came raining down.

Patakhanov remained silent. They beat him again. And on leaving they warned him:

"If you don't talk we'll rip out your guts....

The search for Pvt Patakhanov began as soon as the attack had been repulsed. A reserve group from the nearest guard post arrived to give assistance. It included Sergeant Yu. Ulyanin and Private V. Lapshov. Both had seen how the second truck, engulfed in flames, had veered off the road and the driver had jumped into the ditch.

A careful search of the area revealed signs of struggle and bits of scorched uniform. It became clear that the serviceman had fallen into rebel hands. But what state was he in? Where might he be? How could they help him?

Answers to all these difficult questions had to be found. It was learned that the serviceman was alive and in the hands of Talibdzhan.

Soon afterward it proved possible to send a letter to Talibdzhan.

The reply came back 3 days later. Scribbled on a crumpled piece of paper, it read: "The answer to your letter is as follows: If we come to an agreement, you will get your soldier back alive, but we do not care whether we get our people back or not...." Lower down there were the names

of a number of "fighters for the faith" who had been captured by government forces in Qandahar Province at various times. It was these that the ringleader wanted to exchange for Patakhanov.

Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Azim, chief of one of Qandahar Province's militia detachments, who was present on this occasion, was fuming with anger. However, after giving it some thought, he cooled his temper and said: "Well, to save the life of the Soviet serviceman it is possible and even necessary to hand over these rascals. They cannot escape punishment by our people, unless they change their minds and lay down their arms..."

The Soviet representatives were afraid that Pvt Patakhanov would not believe the ringleader and would not agree to the exchange, reckoning it to be a provocation.

Meanwhile the cunning Talibdzhan was playing a double game. All along the prisoner was daily subjected to psychological and ideological manipulation; they tried to exploit his national feelings. However, Patakhanov indignantly rejected all attempts to persuade him to defect.

This was in Charbag village, where our serviceman was kept in a damp cellar. There was no question of running away. Two guards watched him round the clock. During the night he was chained to an iron beam, and he was whipped with lead-weighted chains for any act of insubordination.

At that time a certain Aman started visiting him. He was of Uzbek origin. He told him a long story about how his parents allegedly fled from the "Soviets" back during the civil war. He told him how he was living as a real Muslim with three wives and a house. Patakhanov too, he said, could be enjoying life if only he wanted to. He would grow rich, have much money, buy a car, a house, get himself a wife, and not just one wife....

Abdulaziz was adamant: He would either return home or perish....

What is currently being done to clarify the fate of our servicemen missing in Afghanistan? We talked about this at the headquarters of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan with many commanders and political officers whose jobs involve tracing our people and helping them to return home.

It must be stated here that not once during the combat operations against the armed opposition have Soviet subunits left their dead or wounded on the battlefield. On the contrary, in the most difficult of situations, frequently risking their own lives, our servicemen have done everything to bring the casualties to safety, to give assistance to a group under ambush. Our helicopter crews worked miracles of heroism and valor when, under dense machinegun fire and under threat of being hit by antiaircraft missiles, they plucked our reconnaissance or assault troops literally from under the dushmans' noses. However, you cannot foresee everything in a war, as they say.

Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the Political Directorate of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces, told us:

"The command, working together with the competent authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan, has throughout the years of combat operations done everything possible to clarify the fate of every missing soldier, and to liberate those who have been captured. We have succeeded in bringing home dozens of people over these years. Their number would be considerably greater had the Pakistani authorities assisted us in our search. As we have been told by those who have been released from captivity, the ideological and psychological manipulation of Soviet servicemen is conducted under the leadership of the special services. With the help of torture, blackmail, and juggling and falsification of facts, persistent attempts are made to persuade them to defect. This represents a crude violation of the human rights enshrined in the UN declaration and in the legislative acts of the Western countries themselves. It is also a crude violation of the Geneva agreements, which the Soviet side is strictly observing."

At the end of May the president and the Government of Afghanistan complied with the request of the command of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces concerning the exchange of the named rebels for the Soviet serviceman. A time and place for the exchange was agreed. However, the exchange did not take place at the appointed time. It fell through a second time, and a third. It became obvious that the rebels were deliberately playing for time. But why?

This became clear later, when Patakhanov returned. It emerged that Professor of Theology Sayaf, the leader of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan, himself entertained hopes of winning over the Soviet soldier from Uzbekistan to his cause. To this end he dispatched a group of Western correspondents to Qandahar Province to persuade the serviceman to emigrate to the West.

However, the deal fell through, the captured Soviet serviceman categorically rejected the services of the uninvited guests who proposed to him that, if he signed a letter, they would help him emigrate to any West European country, the United States, or Canada. "I will only return home," Patakhanov repeated like an incantation. So the journalists left after taking a few pictures.

Only after that was Abdulaziz notified that the "shuravi" had been negotiating with the ringleader for his exchange for the past 2 months.

...On 17 June he was woken up earlier than usual. He quickly slipped on the canvas boots, splashed some water on his face, and climbed into a Mercedes which had seen better times. On either side and behind him strapping dushmans took up positions with their guns at the ready. After a short time they reached their destination—the village Grakalacha [name as published]. Peasants from all the surrounding villages had gathered here. They were waiting for the representative of the Soviet command.

At exactly 0900 hours three armored vehicles arrived with assault troops perched atop them. When Abdulaziz saw the dust-covered, painfully familiar faces of the Soviet servicemen his head spun with emotion.

Then one of his bodyguards pushed Patakhanov forward: Go....

The soldier, unable to feel his legs, stepped forward toward the unknown Soviet officer.

After a hospital checkup Abdulaziz will be flown home to Fergana Oblast—his service ended a month ago. The work to trace our servicemen missing in Afghanistan continues....

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Libya-Chad Meeting, 'Easing of Tension' Welcomed

*PM1907150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent Sergey Filatov "Viewpoint" dispatch: "From Hostility to Good-Neighborliness"]

[Excerpt] Algiers—[Passage omitted] The meeting between the foreign ministers of Libya and Chad via the mediation of representatives of Mali and Gabon, which ended a few days ago in the capital of Gabon, was, in my opinion, a remarkable event in African affairs. It has perhaps opened real prospects for a proper solution of this complex problem which perturbs many people in Africa. A solution, moreover, which would be peaceful and attainable by political means.

By itself, this fact may of course be perceived as merely an event of local importance. But in the context of other developments in the foreign policy life of the North African region in the last few months, it appears in a completely different light. The Chadian-Libyan dialogue confirms the incipient trend toward the easing of tension in relations between countries in this region, toward a transition from confrontation between some of them to mutual understanding and cooperation in the solution of urgent questions.

Indeed, there has been literally an explosion of political activeness in the region since November-December last year. And the steps taken since then by the leadership of the North African countries are all in a particular direction—toward better and healthier mutual relations between neighboring countries. During this time, diplomatic relations have been resumed between Libya and Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco; the tension that had built up here over the last few years was eased; economic cooperation is gathering pace swiftly, literally month by month; direct contacts between Maghreb leaders are more frequent than ever before. And the culmination of all this was the five-sided summit meeting in Algiers. Now there is also a more realistic opportunity to settle the armed conflict in Western Sahara. Libya and Chad have embarked on talks.

What are the driving forces of the "Maghreb phenomenon," which is already spoken of in the Arab world as an example of the way to establish relations between many other states? The answer given in North African capitals speaks of the traditional desire of the brother-peoples inhabiting this land to live in peace, harmony, and good-neighborliness. After all, they share the same ethnic, linguistic, historical, and cultural roots. All this is true, of course. But what prevented such steps being taken toward each other much earlier?

In my view, one of the main reasons making it now possible to find the shortest route to rapprochement is the new and healthier atmosphere which has started developing in international affairs as a whole. The emerging transition from confrontation to cooperation, from whipping up military danger to seeking accords on easing it, was bound to encompass the Maghreb. It seems to me that the seeds of the new political thinking have fallen on fertile soil here.

But this certainly does not mean that positive processes in the Maghreb will take off easily and successfully. It cannot be ruled out that all sorts of complications might arise. But the tendency toward deepening cooperation and retreating from positions of confrontation is quite clearly perceptible today.

### Guinea Ambassador Leaves Moscow

*PM2007131988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Ibrahima Fofana, ambassador of the Republic of Guinea to the USSR, departed from Moscow.

## East Europe

### Shishlin Briefs CSSR Newsmen on Various Topics

*LD2007192888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Nikolay Shishlin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, briefed Czechoslovak newsmen in Prague today on the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Also present at the news conference was our editor, Petr Holman, who has details:

Nikolay Shishlin described the proceedings of the all-union conference as businesslike, to the point, and open. It focused, he stressed, on solutions which would guarantee the irreversibility of the restructuring process. Among these are deep, continuing reform of the political system, and democratization of the party and society. The Soviet official said that the coming party Central Committee session would have to make practical and specific decisions about what needs to be done for the conference resolutions to be implemented.

Comrade Shishlin's news conference dealt in particular with internal political aspects of the current life of Soviet society. After the conference, I asked him to reply to questions on some topical international events. The first of these was the contradictory assessment of the proposals adopted at the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee by Western politicians and media.

[Begin Shishlin recording in Russian, with superimposed Czech translation] In my view, we have to start out from the fact that serious political circles in Western Europe are, indeed, acknowledging a rapprochement of Warsaw Pact and NATO positions, and seeing definite possibilities for fruitful cooperation in the matters presented by the session in Warsaw. Nonetheless, there are also a considerable number of critical responses. I would say this arises primarily out of the fact that our critics in the West simply appear not to be reading the Warsaw Pact documents fully or with sufficient attention. Take the idea of a meeting of European leaders, for example. Why should this be construed as an intention to drive a wedge between Western Europe and their trans-atlantic ally? No one intends to rule it [as heard] out of the talks. So that is simply something to think about. The specific content will have to be filled in on a joint basis, and then the time will come for actions. [end recording]

[Holman] Asked about the current state of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons, Nikolay Shishlin made this reply:

[Begin Shishlin recording in Russian, with superimposed Czech translation] This matter will be made clear literally in the next few days. The talks began, in fact, with a comparison of the standpoints as formulated at the recent summit in Moscow. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the talks are being affected by certain retarding factors associated with the current presidential election campaign in the United States. This means that hopes of reaching an early agreement during the current presidential term are receding at the momment. The issues, however, have now been elaborated to such a stage that regardless whether the Republicans or the Democrats win the elections, the talks will, of necessity, continue, and a treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons is, therefore, realistically attainable. [end recording]

## Saratov Obkom Secretary Returns From CSSR

*PM1907145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*17 Jul 88 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by A.A. Khomyakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Saratov party obkom, was in the CSSR on 11-16 July at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. It studied experience in party leadership of the development of friendly ties between regions in the fraternal countries in conditions of restructuring.

The delegation was received by K. Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

## Grosz Hails CPSU, MSZMP Conferences

*PM1907145988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Landmarks of Renewal"]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Jul—The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the Hungarian National Party Conference may be outstanding landmarks along the path of socialism's renewal. The main objective of these forums of communists from both countries is to define the main avenues for building a modern socialist society. The most important characteristic of the CPSU and MSZMP conferences was the fact that they expressed political and moral support for the immediate solution of pressing problems, K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers, declared in an interview published in the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG today.

But, he said, it is still too soon to talk about a general process of socialism's renewal. We can only talk about a unique historical opportunity to do this. At present the socialist countries are only at the very beginning of this path. But the CPSU and the MSZMP have every reason to be optimistic, since the positions of forces advocating restructuring are being consolidated in the Soviet Union and Hungary alike.

Favorable conditions for the renewal of socialism are also created by the easing of international tension, it is pointed out in the interview. The contemporary situation in the world not only offers a new opportunity for including the socialist countries in the mainstream of world economic development, but also necessitates steps in this direction.

### Soviet Warships Arrive in Polish Port

*LD2007112888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 17 Jul 88*

[Text] Szczecin (Poland), 19 July (TASS)—A detachment of Soviet warships, under the flag of Admiral V.P. Ivanov, commander of the twice Red Banner-bearing Baltic fleet, arrived today in the Polish port of Szczecin on an official friendly visit.

Comprising the detachment are the missile cruiser Groznyy, the big antisubmarine vessel Slavnyy and the frigate Bditelnyy. They were accompanied by flagship of the Polish Navy Warszawa and landing vessel Grunwald.

The Soviet guests were met by Rear Admiral P. Kolodziejczyk, who is commander-in-chief of the Polish Navy, representatives of the naval command, the city authorities, working collectives, public organizations, and youth.

The Soviet sailors will take part in the festivities on the occasion of the national holiday, the 44th anniversary of the rebirth of Poland.

## Briefs

### Turkish Journalists in Baku

A group of Turkish journalists who are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of TASS visited Baku for 3 days. They represented ANATOLIA agency, the largest news agency in Turkey.

The guests visited the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and held talks with Deputy Chairman Fatali-yev. They also visited [name indistinct] factory, the AZERINFORM offices, and the republic's composers union. The guests also held talks with Allahshukur Pasa-Zade, the head of the Muslim Board of the Transcaucasus, and visited the Kazabil Mosque. [Text] [*NC2007101788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 18 Jul 88*]

## West Europe

### Genscher To Make Working Visit 1-2 Aug

*LD2107100888 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] July 21 TASS—It was announced here that Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and Federal foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, will visit the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government on a working visit on August 1-2.

### German Emigration From USSR Reaches Record

*LD1807101488 Hamburg DPA in German 0950 GMT 18 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The number of Soviet citizens of German ethnic origin allowed to emigrate to the FRG has reached a new record this year. In the first half of 1988 alone some 18,600 Germans emigrated from the USSR, according to the German Embassy in Moscow. It is expected that about 32,000 will have left by the end of the year. As recently as 1986 only about 700 Germans were allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

The German Embassy in Moscow is now barely able to cope with the enormous numbers. The German emigrants often have to be dealt with very quickly, as not enough specialist staff is available.

### Further Reportage on Visit by FRG's Vogel

*LD1507170488 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 14 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany will constitute a landmark in Soviet-West German relations, two leading Soviet and West German parliamentarians agreed in the Kremlin today.

During their meeting there Yuriy Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union (one of the two houses in the Soviet parliament—the USSR Supreme Soviet), and Bernhard Vogel, chairman of the West German Bundesrat, were contented that political dialogue between their countries has been growing ever more dynamic and their cooperation has been gaining in scope as well.

They expressed confidence that the upcoming meetings of the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl will lend a further powerful impulse to these processes.

Much attention was paid during the meeting to the issues of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe. "We live in the common European home and share responsibility for order and tidiness in it," Khristoradnov said.

"Increased parliamentary ties between our countries can help foster a climate of trust and mutual understanding. In this situation it will be easier to deal with issues related to economic, scientific and cultural cooperation.

One of the signs of a common home, Vogel said, should be free contacts between people.

Pointing to difficulties with developing economic bonds between countries with different social systems, he said his country has the good will to form such bonds and its federal lands can make a substantial contribution to broader bilateral cooperation in the economy.

Vogel showed interest in the results of the 19th Conference of the Soviet Communist Party, which, in his words, has made a powerful impression on West Germany.

He asked questions about the planned reorganization of the Supreme Soviet, reform of the election system and ways to increase the role of governing councils in the life of society.

"We want to have a better idea of processes under way in the Soviet Union," Vogel said. "When you say that not everything yet is good in your country, these words fit the Federal Republic of Germany too."

### Antonov Holds Talks With FRG Businessman

*PM2007131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Questions of Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] On 19 July A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and cochairman of the Soviet-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, received H.-G. Neglein, member of the board of the FRG firm of Siemens, at the latter's request. Questions on the development of economic cooperation between Soviet organizations and enterprises and the Siemens firm, including the basis for new forms of economic interaction, were discussed.

### New French Bomber, Missile Considered

*PM2007123788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Nuclear 'Mirage'"]

[Text] Paris, 16 Jul—The new "Mirage 2000-N" bomber drew particular attention among the examples of modern combat equipment displayed at the armed forces parade held in honor of France's national holiday. This is not an ordinary novelty. Recently President F. Mitterrand visited the Luxeuil-les-Bains Air Base, where a whole squadron of these "nuclear penetration bombers" has just been commissioned. Their main purpose is to inflict a nuclear strike using a new medium-range "air-to-surface" missile, dubbed ASMP for short. Its range varies from 100-300 km and it can carry a nuclear warhead with a yield of 300 kilotonnes, which is 15 times the yield of the atomic bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. It travels either as a cruise missile with a subsonic speed of 800-900 km per hour or as a conventional missile with a speed of 2,400-3,600 km per hour, depending on the altitude at which it is traveling.

In other words, on the eve of the 199th anniversary of the great French Revolution, a new bomber and a new nuclear missile have appeared in Europe. The program that was elaborated by a government of right-wing parties to build up the arms race and develop France's nuclear muscles is still being implemented. Of course, this alarms both French and world public opinion, although everyone in France and beyond realizes perfectly well that the socialist government has not put forward this program; rather, it has inherited it from its right-wing predecessors. The costly nature of this affair can be judged by the cost of the new ASMP missile—Fr75 million each. Specialists have calculated that 1 kg of this missile is worth more than 1 kg of pure gold bullion.

Of course, France's leaders realize how unpopular this program is, especially now that the nuclear disarmament process has already begun, in Europe even, as a result of the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. M.S. Gorbachev's new proposals put forward in Warsaw open the way to definitively eliminating the "misgivings apropos Soviet superiority in conventional weapons" which were invariably cited as arguments to justify the buildup of France's nuclear arsenal.

During his meeting with journalists at the base where the new nuclear "Mirages" are to be deployed, and in the course of a television interview, President F. Mitterrand said that the proposals submitted by the Soviet leader on holding a European summit have aroused his interest. Clarifying France's position, the president said that the new "prestrategic weapons," like France's entire nucelar arsenal, are not designed to implement the "measured [dozirovannyy] retaliatory strike" strategy.

### Portuguese Communists Visit 10-18 Jul

*PM1907163388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] headed by Angelo Veloso, member of the PCP Central Committee Political Commission, visited the Soviet Union from 10 to 18 July at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation. The delegation familiarized itself with the CPSU's experience of work at the contemporary stage.

The Portuguese comrades were received at the CPSU Central Committee International, Economics, Organizational Party Work, and Propaganda Departments, and at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Thorough and frank conversations took place during the meetings about the progress of restructuring in Soviet society and in the party, in light of the results of

the 19th all-union party conference, and about the implementation of new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, which is leading to a reduction in the threat of nuclear war and the strengthening of world peace in the interests of all countries and peoples.The delegation made a trip to Leningrad, where it was received at the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; visited the "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Production Association; and learned about the work of party organizations and labor collectives in conditions where the new economic mechanism is operating.

The Portuguese comrades took a lively interest in the progress of restructuring in the USSR, changes in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres, and the CPSU's international activity.

**New Ambassador to Finland Appointed**
*LD1607050588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0454 GMT 16 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jul (TASS)—It is reported here that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Boris Aristov USSR ambassador to the Republic of Finland.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has released Vladimir Sobolev from the post of USSR ambassador to the Republic of Finland in connection with his retirement on pension.

## Political & Social

### Further on 18 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

### PRAVDA Version of Gorbachev Speech 18 Jul

*PM2007104288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2*

["Speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee" (under that headline) at the 18 July session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] Comrades!

We must take an extremely attentive and responsible attitude, a highly responsible attitude, in considering the question submitted for the discussion of the current meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It is a matter of great political significance, of vital importance for our multi-ethnic state. The matter has a bearing on the extremely sensitive area of human relations, relations among nations and peoples of the country. This is a problem of an all-union scope, as everything that takes place in various parts of our state concerns us all. All of us are vitally interested that the biggest and most complex matters be decided in a calm way, thoroughly, in our common interests. It should also be added that we deal with a problem which is rooted in the remote past. So, comrades, on the whole, whatever way we look at it, what we discuss today is an archimportant and archcomplex matter. Though, on the whole, it is also a simple matter. But it takes a very firm and courageous step, and, the main thing, reciprocal steps are needed, to arrive at this simple solution.

I would say that today's meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is a very important milestone in our restructuring process. What is more, I would describe this meeting as an historic one. For if we fail to find the solution to this question today, and we must find it, this would have far-reaching consequences and would affect the entire restructuring process.

We cannot tackle any matter, any problem in our country if the interests of even the smallest people are neglected. This stems from the Leninist concept of the policy of nationalities. We have acted in accordance with this concept and we have achieved a great deal. If our state has been able to cope with the solution of historic tasks, if backward Russia, a prison of nations in the past, has become a contemporary power, strong in every aspect, not only in the economic one, but also in the political, military, intellectual, scientific aspects, all this has become possible as a result of pooling huge efforts of all nations and peoples.

If we were not guided by this thought of Lenin, this Leninist guideline, in the solution of the national question, we would not have had anything of this kind now. Certainly, despite all this, a lot of problems have accumulated in this area. For too prolonged a period of time we have not been making progress in this important section of domestic policy. I have been greatly impressed by the speeches of many comrades, particularly of an old friend of mine from the Caucasus, Rasul Gamzatov [member of the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet Presidium]. He is right that we now actually deal with a very difficult situation when the fundamental law of the life of our state, the law of friendship, is violated. And if we have coped with all the most difficult trials so far, if we have emerged victorious in the Great Patriotic War, it has been due to the observance of the law of friendship, due to the fact that we have been together and felt the shoulder of a friend. And after the war, when whole republics, huge territories, had to be rebuilt, there has always been the shoulder of a friend, mutual understanding and assistance.

And now, too, friendship of peoples is indispensable in resolving huge tasks of the country's renewal, in expanding the prospoects of socialism in the interests of the working people, in the interests of improving their life, in doing everything so that every person should feel as he should in a socialist country, so that he should feel a really free citizen in a free country.

Therefore the matter, comrades, is really archimportant and our meeting, I repeat, is an historic one. We should find today such an answer to this question that it should become a precedent for many other questions arising in the sphere of interethnic relations.

All the speakers started from analyzing the causes of the events that take place. And this is right, since to deal only with the consequences of what has happened is not enough. It is necessary to know the reasons of what takes place in order to learn the lessons.

In this connection it was pointed here to certain flaws in the activity of state bodies at the initial stage of the formation of our union state. There are different viewpoints on this score. We know them, and we will not go into these considerations now. Though, perhaps, it should be said that not everything has been decided then as perfectly as one would like. Some 65 years have passed since that time, Armenia and Azerbaijan are now developed republics having a huge potential—economic, cultural, intellectual. This indicates that the decisions adopted in the past were in mainly correct, even though they have not been perfect. Therefore, I would ask all comrades to bear this in mind when we make the verdict as to how it was decided. I look toward scientists: There is a need for a highly responsible attitude. If everything had been initially erroneous and bad, would we have had such results? No, we would not.

I think that when we speak of the causes of what has happened and what set the Armenian and Azerbaijanian population into motion it is essential to see the hard legacy of the past. Those are all serious, big omissions in the sphere of domestic policy, including such an important direction as the nationalities policy. One should not

regard any issue resolved once and for all. Every issue has its own dynamics, development, and this also applies to ethnic relations. Just look how much everything has changed. Firstly, at present 90 percent of the population was born during Soviet times. Every people has its own intelligentsia, scientific community, culture and its own language. This is just fine. If someone thinks otherwise, if someone wants to iron everything out, so to speak—this is an erroneous way. It should be rejected outright. The drawing together and flourishing of our nations, the drawing together of our peoples and the combining of efforts will proceed on the basis of further blossoming of every people, every culture, and the development of every language. This is our wealth, and not a liability.

A new generation enters life. There have emerged echelons of intelligentsia who study their history to learn where this particular people and its language come from, what mutual contacts it had in the past, what it looks like nowadays, and how it visualizes its future. All these are living processes. Can they be allowed to drift? This is how, to a considerable extent, it happened. The roots of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are in this. If one adds to that that people who were not up to the mark from the internationalist, political, and moral point of view turned up in the leadership of this or that region, it becomes clear why all that assumed such acute forms.

I now speak not only of Karabakh. This is not an isolated phenomenon. It has assumed acute forms and gives us ground to ponder over the phenomenon in its entirety.

So, the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is connected with serious violations on the part of the leading bodies of Azerbaijan, and the comrades self-critically admit that. I appreciate the firm internationalist stand of Comrade Vezirov and others who do not yield to emotions. Comrade Ibragimov said aptly that if there is a wish to punish a person he should be first deprived of reason. The guidelines of the Central Committee and the government, which cover the entire range of socioeconomic and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh, should be implemented. We cannot understand a negative attitude to the document. Moreover, it turns out, the document is being concealed from the working people and its implementation is being hindered. This is unacceptable to us. We condemn such an approach.

Analyzing the causes of the events, we should see that quite a number of acute problems that have long been worrying the working people of the two republics have accumulated both in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Those are serious shortcomings in economic and social development, the aggravated ecological issues, big omissions in personnel policy, the neglected state of the ideological sphere, the weakening of internationalist education, and serious breaches of the principles of socialist morality.

This manifested itself in many things. Protectionism, bribery, and a 'shadow economy' are rampant in the republics. Restructuring has uncovered all that, and we saw that it proved unacceptable to some people in those republics. Certain clans that would like to keep all the main spheres of life in their hands had developed there. Restructuring calls for something else: It brings working people as a decisive, main force into the arena of political activity.

Therefore Nagorno-Karabakh was used from both sides as a pretext to stir up national sentiments, bringing them up to the nationalist form in order to conceal the really difficult, crying problems that had accumulated. We talked about this with the former leaders of the republics. There was a public talk at the CPSU Central Committee June plenum. So you may see how everything has intermingled in this issue. One should not simplify anything. In general, I am finalizing this excursion with the deep conviction that the difficulty, complexity, importance, the delicate nature, and sensitiveness of the problem call for a very responsible considerate attitude toward one another. This is what is lacking, comrades. We should tell you, representatives of both Azerbaijan and Armenia: This is what is lacking and you must accept this.

Over here, at the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium today, we hear more self-criticism on the part of representatives of Azerbaijan, and less self-criticism from representatives of Armenia. Think this over. There is something to think over both in the one and the other republic and there is food for profound reflections and lessons. If you leave this meeting after this talk without a desire to gain an understanding of everything and to visualize how events should be turned differently now, it would be wrong, and I would say it would be painful.

I am sure that this talk will leave its mark on all of us, comrades. Both on the Supreme Soviet Presidium which includes representatives of all republics and central power bodies of the country, and on representatives of the two fraternal republics, Azerbaijan and Armenia. And I will tell you, dear friends, that the loftiness and importance of your stand will be determined not by what you would say, as some comrades did here, counting only on how people will listen to you in Yerevan or Baku. Their essence is in expressing today the basic interests of our union and the basic interests of the Azerbaijanian and Armenian peoples. These interests coincide, comrades. They coincide.

I think the central authorities over these difficult months sought to follow the main, Leninist guideline; to maintain a considerate attitude to both peoples and to do everything to prevent an aggravation of relations between them to the extreme, and to avert resentment with regard to each of these peoples. All the time we acted in this way so as not to break what has been created, and, moreover, sought to find a reasonable solution to new questions in the interests of both peoples and in the interests of the entire union. We sent comrades to the republics, and more than once, to see what the actual situation was. This helped us to form both judgments, proposals, a government decision which I

spoke of, a large-scale and major decision. When the situation began to get complicated and we saw that we were faced with a hard test, even bloodshed, we introduced militia forces and troops to keep the situation under control. We believed and continue to believe that this is our duty—the duty of the central government the duty of the central authorities.

And you can see how right we were: we were literally half-a-night, several hours late (everything began at night), and what tragic consequences the developments in Sumgait led to.

This is, I must say, our common anguish, and this has greatly darkened today's life which is full of great ideas and hopes. We have a human understanding of the fact that a great misfortune has occurred, and it has agitated all people.

The developments at the Yeveran airport again showed that one must be very responsible and not overlook an aggravation of the situation, not to mention that it is essential to bring the situation in the two republics back to normal.

But look, comrades, how passions are to some extent running out of control now: there appear slogans of anti-socialist, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian character. Weapons are in the hands of aggressively minded militants. In general today we must state that a threat to the life and tranquility of the population of Azerbaijan and Armenia has emerged. This threat really exists. Meanwhile some people urge the session of the Yerevan Gorkom to make a decision on a withdrawal of the troops—our own army which is now present there in the supreme interests of ruling out unpredictable consequences.

This is why, all this considered, the Supreme Soviet Presidium acted correctly, I think, when it brought up this issue here, and we are holding an open, blunt, face-to-face discussion of this question which is most important for us and for our state.

We must make a necessary decision to stop the dangerous developments of events around Nagorno-Karabakh. What is the peculiarity of the situation, apart from what has been said? The peculiarity is that the two republics approach the problem, the situation from diametrically opposite, and I would even say, from ultimatum positions.

This has been reflected, incidentally, in debates and documents adopted at the sessions of those republic's supreme soviets as well. They cancel out, provide no ground for an agreed solution and generally lead us into an impasse.

But in spite of all the difficulty and these contradictory positions, we must find a solution that would not be to the detriment of either the Azerbaijanis or the Armenians, or the interests of all our Soviet people for that matter.

The concern of all the fraternal republics over what is happening in Armenia and Azerbaijan sounded forcefully at this Presidium meeting here today.

As I understand comrades, all of us are worried not only about polemics, not only about the mutual recriminations and insults, although even this by itself is inadmissible in interethnic relations, poisons them, and interferes with dealing with and resolving issues.

We are all concerned that this is doing enormous harm to our principal cause, the cause of restructuring and democratization in our society. In general, we are going, I'll put it bluntly, through a string of trials, will restructuring pass muster?

Restructuring requires utmost popular cohesion, but we are being offered wrangling and ethnic mistrust. Restructuring requires democratization and glasnost, but we can see in this case how under the banner of democratization shameless pressure is being applied by irresponsible people on worker collectives and on the population of republics and how bodies of power, including the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, are coming under pressure as well.

Just look at the forms of pressure they are using: nonstop mass demonstrations, rallies and, finally, strikes. In other words, we can see that democratic rights and the new conditions opened up and created by restructuring are being clearly exploited for anti-democratic purposes.

I think, comrades, this is unacceptable, this is needed by no-one and does not meet the interests of the peoples of this country.

There are people who, in defiance of the call by the 19th party conference, are continuing their extremist activities and their instigative work among working people and the situation in this respect has even worsened since the party conference.

In general, at this sitting of the Presidium we are confronted with a difficult choice, but it must be made because the matter at issue is, among other things, the future of two peoples—close, fraternal peoples by will of their history and destiny.

The Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived together for ages, they do so today and will continue to in the future as well. I think we cannot imagine how it can be otherwise and you, representatives of the two peoples, cannot think of anything other than living together.

And if it is a life together, then thought should be given to both today and the future. We are responsible for the present day but especially for tomorrow. Either to live in peace and friendship, having restored trust among people in every city and village, in every street and in every house, or to forsake everything good and sacred that many generations of the finer sons and daughters of Azerbaijan and Armenia have sacrificed their lives for and plunge into the murky slough of discord and distrust.

This would simply throw the two peoples off the track of historical progress. It would tell also on the general situation in the country.

I would put it this way: If this happened—and I don't think it would and am convinced that everything will change for the better—but if this still happened, history would never forgive us and people would never forgive either those who have irresponsibly egged them on with wrong words and slogans or those who have failed to stop them, catch them by the arm, and apply power.

We would not be forgiven either by the Azerbaijanis or the Armenians, or all the other Soviet peoples. Our party is multinational, our revolution is multinational and our country is multinational and we must make certain that all the families in this home live in harmony regardless of their nationalities.

In this connection I would like to say a few words about the following. The debates that have gone on for many months, and I should say the debate at this meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium too, have showed an obvious desire on both sides to gain a victory at all costs and return to their republic, to their lands as victors.

The representatives of Armenia are out to make sure that Nagorno-Karabakh will be included in their republic and those of Azerbaijan to prevent this and not to yield an inch in anything else.

I tell this, looking you in the eye. This is the impression I have. I should tell you, dear friends, that both one group and the other are under profound delusion. Victory in this issue can only be common.

A different approach means a political dead end, continued aggravation, crescendos of passion, escalating hostility, and if developments take this turn, it will strike out everything that has been created by many generations, poison public mentality with nationalist venom, and thereby spoil relations among the peoples for many, many years to come.

Is this what in Azerbaijan and Armenia they are after?

We see, of course, that there indeed are those who want precisely this and are seeking this. They have gone crazy about a wild, inhuman idea: let hundreds and perhaps even thousands of people die, if only this bolsters the nation's spirit.

This is political; paranoia and the ultimate degree of irresponsibility and inhumanity. These people are adventurers and must be described as such, each by name. Can a normal person get such an idea? let alone a person responsible to his own and other peoples, a person vested with a certain authority.

We should be guided by the interests of the millions of working people in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Don't we see now, talking with the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan, that both the former and the latter are really anxious about what has been happening and want the whole matter to end well and as soon as possible.

There are many other people who have just begun to feel down in their hearts and are increasingly aware that further steps along the path of exacerbation are ruinous. But there are others, too, who try to shout this rising awareness down, alleging that it is treachery when a man wants to raise his voice to urge stopping and thinking: "What are we doing and where are we going?".

I should say that in all the republics, in the country as a whole, people are looking to us to take decisive action to stem the mounting negative developments in Nagorno-Karabakh, in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

And we understand their aspirations. The simple wisdom of people should be the guide when we make a decision on the issue being discussed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

For all these hours we were thinking, pondering together, and asking each other questions so as to clarify the situation, size it up correctly, and find a way out of what is, frankly, a blind alley.

It seems to me that aside from emotions, pain, and reproaches that were expressed here on both parts, a common opinion is now shaping at this meeting that proceeding from the vital interests of the two peoples, above all from the interests of all the Soviet people, we must confirm the existing reality and the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is part of the Azerbaijan SSR. This is the aspect of the matter that, to my mind, is becoming clear to all of us, comrades. At the same time proposals have been made here concerning the strengthening of guarantees to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh that there should be no repetition of what has led to the present situation, as there were many promises in the past that in many cases turned out to be empty sounds. What is more, they actually turned out to be deception with regard to people of Nagorno-Karabakh. So our decision should include this element—the guarantees of the impermissibility of the repetition of what took place.

And here we approach the theme of compromises. This theme has sounded and I don't want to repeat what has been said. But I think the draft resolution with which the members of the Presidium and representatives of the republics are familiar should be supplemented with a provision that would more fully take into consideration the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and assert the confidence of its people that life will be changing for the better, that the guarantees of normal development of Nagorno-Karabakh within the Azerbaijan SSR will be ensured. It will apparently take time to resolve the ripe questions, what is envisaged by the resolution of the Central Committee and the government for the development of Nagorno-Karabakh.

It will also take time to normalize relations and combine efforts, as even working, human contacts have been lost. There is apparently a need for some group—representatives of the Supreme Soviet Presidium or may be at the same time of the government, and even of the CPSU Central Committee. Let three persons be present who would help organize cooperation of the two republics in order to fulfill this resolution. It is very large-scale and it brings the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh to a different level.

Besides that, many proposals have been made here about upgrading the status of the region, its powers, and possibilities. This, apparently, should not be rejected. These matters need to be solved. We consulted with leaders of the republic. Perhaps the resolution, alongside what was said in the first part, should contain a provision that a group or a commission be formed in the framework of the Soviet of Nationalities to analyze all the proposals made here. Later, apparently, other proposals will also be made in the Soviet of Nationalities, so that we will thus be able to study this problem better, the more so as we approach a reform of the political system that presupposes changes, enhancing the rights of union republics, their responsibilities and powers, the widening of the rights and status of the autonomous republics. Solutions enhancing the guarantees mentioned here could be arrived at in the framework of studying this entire matter.

As far as I'm concerned, if we thus supplement our decision, this will be making it, so to say, a document, on the basis of which a broad process of normalization can be developed.

We urge all citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia to manifest maturity and genuine patriotism to exert their efforts to the utmost to normalize the situation, to establish good relations among people.

The events regarding Nagorno-Karabakh have, or course, already left a deep imprint on relations between the two peoples, and it will take time to make these relations truly fraternal. But there is a need to act, to meet each other halfway, being guided by supreme interests.

And any isolation of the Armenian population of Azerbaijan from Armenia in the area of culture, education, science, information, spiritual, life as a whole is unthinkable. In the same way, Azerbaijanis living in Armenia should be given attention in an equal measure. This is, comrades, a real road, just as for all other republics. We should be guided by life itself. This is a sacred duty of party and soviet bodies in both republics not only to their peoples, but also to all the peoples of our country.

I think the time has come for responsible actions, and we hope that Communists will set the example of high responsibility. We hope that they will be supported by war veterans, veteran workers who traversed, shoulder-to-shoulder, the grim roads of trials, battles. They should be supported by youth. For it is not to be tolerated that what takes place now should cloud their future forever. And if this is imprinted in the minds of young people, this will mean that such a course and development of the situation in the future will be programmed in some measure. Representatives of the intelligentsia, whose words are heeded by people, should contribute to the process of rectifying things.

I believe that the majority of honest, thinking people in Azerbaijan and in Armenia realize the justice of posing the problem in this way. We are aware that there are people who under the influence of emotions pent up over the past 6 months will try to continue the line at confrontation, to whip up passions, and exert pressure on the population. Who are these people? The developments, the methods of staging disorders, the attempts to ensure that people constantly remain under strain, generally speaking, uncover them ever more clearly in the moral and political sense.

It is the adversaries of restructuring, conservative and corrupt elements who waxed rich in the period of stagnation that speculate on the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. We, comrades, should not fail to see and realize this. It is of advantage to them to distract the attention from themselves by feigning concern for the destiny of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. We know this, we see this, and we shall not lose sight of this. The force of Soviet laws should be directed precisely and only against such elements.

The decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium whose draft has been submitted to you, should, of course, be unswervingly implemented after its adoption. We think it will meet with the support of the entire Soviet people and we firmly rely on the wisdom and experience of the working class, peasants, intelligentsia, all the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

For their part, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government are doing their utmost so that the process of the normalization of the situation should proceed continuously and successfully.

Let us emerge from this meeting being convinced that we have arrived at the solely correct decision, and let us act as we now agree to act. [applause]

**Television Broadcasts Proceedings**

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[Report on 18 July USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on Nagorno-Karabakh in the Kremlin; presented by Moscow radio and television announcer Kirillov—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kirillov] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin on 18 July. The Presidium examined the issue of the decisions by the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR on Nagorno-Karabakh. The session was opened by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko.

[Gromyko] There is one item on the agenda: The decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. The issue is not new to us. As is known, it was discussed at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 23 March of the current year. Measures were mapped out then directed at stabilizing the situation, with the provision that requirements of the Constitution and Soviet legislation are observed, and improving the mass political and educational work within the population in the spirit of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy.

The CPSU Central Committee and the government have developed and are implementing measures on cardinal resolution of the urgent issues of economic and sociocultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. However, even after that the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh continued and is continuing to heat up.

The sessions of the supreme power bodies of these republics which were held recently came as a kind of a watershed which designated the stands of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR at its session on 15 June 1988 adopted the decision on Nagorno-Karabakh which we all know. The Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR examined this issue on 17 June, deeming that decision unacceptable. Such is the situation.

It demands of us profound understanding of all the complexities of the situation, the ability to rise above emotions and results of various kinds, for the sake of the higher interests of the Soviet people.

The search for a correct solution must be conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution, socialist values, and mutual respect for the opinion, traditions, and national dignity of each of the peoples. This is axiomatic.

[Kirillov] Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a report at the session.

[Voskanyan] Esteemed comrades! We have an attitude of great responsibility toward the question being discussed today, which affects the interests of not just the Armenian and Azerbaijani, but all Soviet people. The critical and tense situation that has arisen in our area in connection with the problem of the NKAO obliges us to look deeply and comprehensively into the sources of the problem and to search for ways of just solution, basing ourselves on the Leninist principle of the free self-determination of nations.

Our responsibility is all the greater in that the efficacy of the processes of revolutionary restructuring and democratization of society will be judged by how this problem is solved.

The history of this question is familiar to you. The day after the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia, the Azerbaijan revolutionary committee declared in its decree of 1 December 1920 Nagorno-Karabakh, Nakhichevan, and Zangezur to be inalienable parts of Soviet Armenia. This act was an expression of a genuine internationalist approach, expressed the essence of the national policy of the young Soviet state, and was received with great enthusiam by the workers. The revolutionary committee's decree was welcomed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, Kirov, and Ordzhonikidze. But under pressure—this must be said bluntly—from nationalistically minded persons, the leadership of Azerbaijan soon brought up before the Caucasion Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks [RKPB] the question of reconsidering its own decision recognizing Nagorno-Karabakh as an inalienable part of Soviet Armenia, motivating this by the threat of the inevitable activization of anti-Soviet forces in Azerbaijan.

The fact that the session of the Caucasian Bureau of the RKPB Central Committee of 4 July 1921 decided to leave Nagorno-Karabakh within the Armenian SSR shows that the arguments by the leadership of Azerbaijan were groundless. But the next day, at Stalin's insistence, the Caucasian Bureau reconsidered its decision. As a result, the age-old Armenian area of Nagorno-Karabakh, 95 percent of whose populaton was Armenian, was mechanically removed from Armenia and included in the composition of the Azerbaijan SSR. Neither the populaton of the oblast, nor the population of the Armenian SSR is reconciled to that crying injustice. Throughout the following decades, the Armenian people and the leadership of the republic raised the question several times on the restoration of historical justice.

This was also provoked by the fact that the NKAO's backwardness in its social and economic development was distinctly manifested, and the national rights and

dignity of the Armenian population of the oblast were allowed to be infringed upon. Obstacles were erected on the path of its spiritual development.

I would stress that, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted in his conversation with journalists during his visit to Yugoslavia, not one of them has raised the question either of Soviet power, nor of their withdrawal from the Soviet state, nor of socialism. No. The party's role, and the role of the policy conducted after Lenin in the sphere of national relations, has been recognized.

On 20 February this year, an extraordinary session of the NKAO's Soviet of People's Deputies decided to petition the highest organs of state power of the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR's about uniting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. This decision does not go beyond the framework of the existing constitutional norms. On 15 June this year, the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, expressing the Armenian people's unanimous will, gave its agreement for the entry of the NKAO into the composition of the Armenian SSR, and addressed a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider this question and resolve it positively.

I appeal to all the members of the USSR Supreme Presidium. I ask you once again to sense in depth our people's aspirations and hopes in the interest of strengthening the friendship among the peoples of the USSR. Why not take a step in order to meet each other halfway; is there any reason why a compromise, an alternative, cannot be arrived at?

[Gorbachev, interrupting from rostrum] In what do you see a compromise?

[Voskanyan] Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Well, generally speaking we should find a decision that would not damage either the Armenian or the Azerbaijani people; that would not put them in a position in which one has gained a victory and the other has suffered a defeat. If this happens, all this will remain and will spill over into something more, things that will—let us search, let us search.

Two or three times you referred to the 19th party conference and, in particular, you quoted from its proceedings—questions of such importance, such tremendous importance, touching upon the destiny of our state, where without peace in our home, without peace and friendship among the peoples, we cannot resolve anything at all. You referred to it and that is correct. I welcome, so to put it, the fact that you have drawn attention to this appeal.

But tell me, is the current situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan and the behavior both in Azerbaijan and Armenia commensurate with this appeal to behave in an appropriate and considered manner and so forth in a situation in which, in essence, you have organized pressure on the central authorities? This is giving rise to questions all over the country. We are already being blamed for putting up with such disorders and with the kind of situation that has developed in the Transcaucasus.

[Voskanyan] Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gobachev, interrupting] How is this? where is this carefully considered manner here?

[Voskanyan] I want to say...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Where is this well-considered manner?

[Voskanyan] I want, self-critically, to say that (?not once)...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] After all, there are party bodies and Soviet bodies there—you are the chairman of the supreme authorities there in the republic. Where, then, where are you indeed? Why is it that you bring everything here, so to speak? You should have already held several meetings; you should have worked things out together. We would have endorsed everything that you worked out together. But each one of you puts forward his separate proposal and you compel us to be, as it were—well, to make decisions so that subsequently everything, well, so that the issue can be presented this way: Moscow is to blame, the center is to blame.

As for us, we are asking you to calmly continue to toil and work. After all, everything has been preserved, all the values. Let us sort this out together, for after all, questions cannot be resolved if we are at loggerheads; such questions must be resolved. It was reported to me that this appeal—let us have calm, let us work, let us put a halt to all these things—was complied with. But 24 hours later everything went awry; everything again started up in Stepanakert according to the old scheme. Who exerted influence on Stepanakert and on everyone? Where are the mainsprings coming from? Where do such impulses come from? People complain that they are not being allowed through to their work places, you know. People complain.

There are unshaven, bearded men there, walking around like guerrillas. If anyone so much as utters a word, threats immediately are made to him. Bear in mind that such phenomena take place in Azerbaijan, too. One can and does right away find people who are only sniffing around for new fires breaking out, so as not to merely throw a bit of firewood on it, but explosives, into the bargain. But we, we and you, we, are sitting here, and we should see who bears special responsibility here. Well, how do you, how is one to understand it?

Why do you say: people, people? The thing does not revolve around the people here, and, incidentally, I wish to draw a clear dividing line here: The people already are suffering from the situation. They are suffering because they do not have work; they are suffering, because, you know, whether they are sick or healthy they are driven to take part in marches; they are suffering because questions already are beginning to be asked in the country—what is happening to our brothers in Azerbaijan and Armenia? So, there you are; the people are not the point. Never will my tongue be moved to, you know, make accusations or whatever against Armenians or Azerbaijanis! No! We and you are to blame, because we should have seen and we should have tackled the processes in good time, and you are correct when you say this. But, now, too, it is necessary, you know, to tackle things and be responsible for them. There is none of this responsibility where either one side or the other is concerned.

[Kirillov] A report was then made by Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Tatliyev] Esteemed comrades, almost 4 months have passed since the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at which the question of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it was considered. The decision adopted then contains an objective evaluation of the problem that has arisen, as well as specific instructions aimed at normalizing the situation in the area. The party, administrative, and law enforcement organs of Azerbaijan recently have been undertaking vigorous measures to prevent the disruption of public order and attempts to aggravate the situation. The possibilities of labor collectives have been widely brought into effect, and, although the situation in the republic, with the exception of the NKAO, is being kept under control, the situation still remains explosive.

The decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers has presented wide-ranging possibilities for removing once and for all many shortcomings and for accelerating the development of the autonomous oblast. I would like to report to the Presidium that a great deal has been done over a short period of time. For example, good reception has been established for television broadcasts from Yerevan, oblast television has been organized, planning is underway for branches of a number of industrial enterprises, expansion is envisaged for the furniture factory, the construction of a combined feed works and a reservoir is planned, and a solution to the question of organizing a new printing base and training specialists in higher educational institutions in the Armenian SSR is planned.

Meanwhile, this is precisely what the extremists who are stirring up the people do not want. They are not even mentioning social and economic problems today. On 21 June I took part in the work of the session of the oblispolkom where the question of secession from the Azerbaijan SSR was presented for the second time. The situation at the session was very unhealthy and tense. It reflected the oppressive moral and psychological state which has been so craftily and artificially maintained among the population of Stepanakert.

Every day we are receiving hundreds of letters from people of Armenian nationality who openly express their displeasure and categorical disagreement with the question raised, as well as their serious concern at the dangerous development of events. This alarm has also been expressed in a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to which 200,000 Armenians living in Baku have put their signatures.

Now, about the decisions adopted by the supreme soviets of our republic and the Armenian SRR: On 13 June the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision stating that the transfer of the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR is unacceptable. On 17 June the republic's Supreme Soviet approved this decision by the Presidium and also decided that it was impossible to satisfy such a petition. In this we were guided by the points and conclusions contained in the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the people of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and by the decision of the Central Committee Politburo of 21 February this year.

We discussed this question comprehensively and with a feeling of the greatest responsibility toward the internationalist interests of the population of the NKAO and the republic, the Leninist principles of strengthening the friendship and fraternity and links between the Azerbaijan and Armenian people, and the need to preserve the national and state structure of the country which has come about and been sealed in the USSR Constitution. The notion of separating the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR is unujustifiable politically, economically, or juridically. The separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from the rest of the Karabakh zone of our republic would mean a deliberate destruction of a historically shaped and integral complex. However, on 15 June the session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet agreed to the NKAO joining the Armenian SSR. Life has shown that while not only failing to cool down the passions, this action, on the contrary, has also whipped them up even more, including in Azerbaijan.

Thus, in February of this year deputies of the oblast soviet unlawfully put the question of transferring the oblast from one union republic to another. It was unlawful because the law on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast adopted in 1981 on a representation from the oblast soviet itself does not provide it with such a right. As if encouraging this unlawful action, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision the essence of which is a claim on the territory of another Soviet union republic and a revision of the territorial and administrative composition of the Azerbaijan SSR, thereby ignoring Article 78 of the USSR Constituion.

Comrades, there is also another aspect to this question. Some 36 percent of Soviet Armenians live outside the Armenian SSR, including around 1 million in Azerbaijan and Georgia. What will happen to them? A clear and precise answer to this was given in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It said: Many people live outside their national formations, and there are ethnic groups that do not have territorial autonomy. All this is the reality of our multinational state. Certain clashes can arise here, and to resolve them we have only one path—to ensure maximum consideration of the interests of each nation and ethnic group and of the whole community of the Soviet people, within the structure of the union state that has come about. Any other approach would be simply impossible in our specific conditions. We ask the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to reject the request of the Armenian Supreme Soviet of 15 June, thus providing a full guarantee of the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR.

In conclusion, I would like to convey to the members of the Presidium the demand of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from our republic and the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, and of all the working people, that all necessary measures be taken to put an end to the disorder and other unlawful actions in the NKAO, and that full authority be used to bring about order there.

[Gorbachev] Here we have the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; there are the two presidiums, and we have deputies here taking part, representatives of the intelligentsia, trying to find out—where do you see a compromise? You know, what is needed now is the greatest wisdom and responsibility. With all that is happening on this earth still we must extend a hand to one another.

[Tatliyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we thought...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] If we continue to be governed by passions, and these passions have reached their limit, then why try to hide it, comrades? I think that you and I will not fulfill the mission we are gathered here for today. You should speak for the people, how will the people understand? We must find a way out.

[Tatliyev] We can't see any new way out, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Tell me, I can see from the texts of the speeches by the comrades from the Armenian side that the Armenian people do not believe in the existing guarantees that it will not be repeated. Well, I am in favor of that. What they want is this: an agreement to strengthen certain guarantees. How can we strengthen guarantees? You do not deny that there were serious deformations in the NKAO?

[Tatliyev] Yes, there were serious shortcomings [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] They insinuated themselves there; there were elements there were provoking it and latching onto it. Even in Armenia, and with you, too, not everyone admits it, but the instigators are operating here, there, and everywhere. They quickly flew in like ravens, so to speak. They are just waiting for their moment. One must be aware of the people's interests.

There are real issues that have exacerbated the situation. You admit this. How can one strengthen guarantees that this will not happen again, so that what has been mapped out by the Central Committee and the government, will be done in the NKAO?

(?If you) agree with my wish that all of you on the Azerbaijani side should, take more counsel. I recall what was said about the fact that this, perhaps, is some kind of... [changes thought] not withdrawing this oblast from the republics, but perhaps there should be some representatives at some stage from the Presidium, from the Central Committee, from the government, right there on the spot, and they will help to implement things. So, we must have another look at it. We have gathered, and we intend to live together in one country, together, or how we—there was this Armenian letter that was presented once to me—it seems, even, that if you cannot solve a problem in such a way, then off to Australia we'll go.

Well, if they talk to us like that, well... [laughter]

Well, I think that this correct proposal by the comrade was received with a bit of a smile by the Armenian delegation. That is a mistake. Do not ignore it, the main, so to speak, character in our history is the people, however high the merits of our politicians or intellectuals are rated. It is still the people, the people; do not disregard them. The people can sometimes summarize the most profound things in a very simple manner. You now, I welcome very much the fact that Comrades Vezirov and Arutyunyan have met for the first time at last in 15 years. How the ordinary people have welcomed this. They are saying with tears in their eyes: Calm down those who are instigating, intimidating, and so on. You know, among the people, the friendship and respect of the people has still not been upset. They have lived there for centuries. This must be preserved. We must proceed from this, and we must live for centuries. So, you, chairmen, you must not be downhearted. You especially must keep your coolness, wisdom, and reason now, and your respect.

[Kirillov] At the session a report [soobshcheniye] was delivered by Pogosyan, first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblispolkom of Azerbaijan.

[Pogosyan] The overwhelming majority of the country's population has an extremely vague idea of the history and geography of the region where the events have unfolded, but to the educated there is no doubt that Nagorno-Karabakh has for ages been populated by Armenians and is part of their homeland. How then did

Nagorno-Karabakh find itself part of the Azerbaijan SSR? Unfortunately, that was a concession to the annexionist ambitions of the then leadership of Azerbaijan which, enjoying Stalin's support and skillfully speculating on the extremely complex situation in the Transcaucasus and Russia as a whole, achieved the incorporation into the Azerbaijan SSR of a territory where more than 94 percent of the inhabitants were Armenians.

The ensuing 65 years of so-called autonomy were years of humiliation, insults, and every kind of oppression of the oblast's Armenian population. Emmissaries from Baku were as a rule appointed to all key positions in the oblast leadership. In scientific works and school and college textbooks published in Azerbaijan, generally known axiomatic historical facts are often treated in an oversimplified fashion or else are totally distorted. The plainly sore question of the origin of the native population has arisen in the republic. Its treatment is not infrequently accompanied by a desire to make the history of one's own people seem more ancient and noble at the expense of one's neighbors.

The oblast's annual deductions to the budgets of all levels for the past decade have amounted on average to R91 million a year. But the budget of the oblast itself is R42 million or 46 percent of the deductions. So we have not been receiving any gifts. By the way, neither have we ever been parasites as some claim. The oblast produces 67 kg of meat per capita against 27 kg in the republic overall and 320 kg of milk against 155. We do not receive subsidies; on the contrary, we supply to the republican pool these major types of produce.

We attentively followed the 17 June session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Its leitmotif was the idea that, quote, the borders of Azerbaijan are notional [uslovny]; we are not detaining anyone; if anyone does not want to live with us, let him leave. Fine. But what about the circumstance that we became part of the Azerbaijan autonomous region and with our own land? What about Article 11 of the Constitution according to which in any corner of the Soviet Union the land is owned exclusively by the state and is the common property of the whole Soviet people? Why then must the Azerbaijan people have the right of veto on the solution of the question? How can it be permitted that in our socialist state one people should decide the fate of another?

Certain interpreters of the law are attempting to evade a solution of the problem by referring to the relevant article of the constitution. In my opinion attempts to prove the impossibility of solving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh within the framework of the existing constitution seem unconvincing. Rather, attempts are being made to use the constitution as a weapon to torpedo the question itself. Attempts are being made to set the demands of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh against the allegedly opposite opinions of numerous Armenians living in other regions of the republic.

We reject these attempts. Opponents are putting forward the following objection among others: Nagorno-Karabakh may not be incorporated into Armenia because they do not even have a common border. They forget that the oblast is situated seven times nearer to the Armenian border than Nakhichevan is to the Azerbaijan SSR. Comrades, I ask you not to misunderstand me. The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be satisfied with material benefits alone to the detriment of its national, cultural, and spiritual development. An unjust solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, as life shows, will inevitably lead to the extinction of the Armenian nationality in its homeland. Cautionary evidence can be seen from the tragic fate of the Nakhchivan ASSR's Armenians.

There is no point in hiding that a serious split has occurred in good Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, and time is needed for the wound to be healed. Above all, years of effort are needed for us to forget and smooth over and drive into the depths of our souls the reciprocal abuses and insults that have been stirred up, and to forget Sumgait.

Thousands and thousands of working contacts must be carried out every day between representatives of these two nationalities. At present these have not been successful. And let us be realists—they will not be successful soon.

Watching everybody and promoting the display of mutual compromise and amicability is a task beyond the powers of virtually any official body. The only correct solution to the situation that has arisen can be the withdrawal of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan.

I have tried in my brief speech to introduce you to the current situation without embellishment, as they say, and to the causes giving rise to it. I do not know whether I have managed this. At any rate I have tried to comply strictly with the principle proclaimed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 19th party conference: Truth as it is is better than the half-truth that one would want to hear.

As to economic relations between lowland and upland [nizmennyy i nagornyy] Karabakh, Mikhail Sergeyevich and Comrade Gromyko, there are no economic relations whatsoever between Nagorno-Karabakh and Nizmenno-Karabakh. There is a very evident and very clear dependence, economic dependence, of Nagorno-Karabakh on all of Azerbaijan as a whole.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous oblast today does not have a flour mill, a mixed feed works of its own, its own works for manufacturing ferro-concrete items, or a housing construction combine.

The productive capacity of our construction organization is R20 million a year. You have given us R400 million—thank you very much—400 million over the

past 7 years. It is possible to assimilate 140 million over 7 years, calculating on the basis of 20 million a year. Who indeed will assimilate it if we have not any productive capacities?

[Kirillov] The debates then began. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was the first to take the floor.

[Orlov] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, taking into account the interests of working people of Nagorno-Karabakh, having carefully considered in essence the situation that had evolved and the problems that had arisen, adopted, as is known, the decision on steps to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the NKAO.

That decision, along with the 23 March decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, created favorable conditions for accelerated development of the productive forces, meeting the economic and spiritual needs of both the Armenian population and other nationalities of the autonomous oblast, created conditions for eliminating the troubles that had occurred, created a real opportunity to concentrate on overcoming the situation that had evolved, on resolving specific problems in the spirit of the restructuring policy now being carried out in our country under the party's leadership.

However, that was not to happen, because gaining the upper hand are impatience, emotions, and negative feelings incited by individual groups of irresponsible people. The path of pressure has, in fact, been chosen for resolving the problem, an anticonstitutional path. For the constitution of 1924, that of 1936, and that of 1977, in accordance with which we act now, all, in fact, have one item in common: The territory of a union republic cannot be altered without its consent. The borders between union republics can be altered by mutual agreement of the corresponding republics subject to approval of the USSR. That principle received the support of all the people when the draft constitution was discussed, among others, by working people of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. It serves, in fact, as one of the crucial guarantees of equality and sovereignty of all union republics, of our union of peoples today.

One would think it would be expedient today also to make an urgent recommendation and an appeal to workers, party and state bodies of Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijani and Armenian figures to do everything in their power without delay to restore order, to restore and consolidate the fraternal relations between the populations of the republics.

[Kirillov] Taking the floor is Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Shcherbitskiy] The people of the Ukraine are deeply concerned about the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, for what is happening there is our common anguish and anxiety for our socialist state. Working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan, just as all Soviet people, undoubtedly need quiet, normal human life and the preservation of law and order, not the mutual feuds in which they have come to be involved now. We have no right to forget about the fact that, in accordance with the principle of communications, all that is happening in Transcaucasia at the moment has the tendency to spread across the country. Some people abroad are trying to do everything in their power to make it happen on the widest possible scale in our country. I believe that the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia are well aware of that circumstance.

The mass refusals to work over a lengthy period of time lead to the breakdown of the economy of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which is absolutely apparent in the republic. Both the oblast and the republic of Armenia as a whole will suffer most serious losses, and these events, these strikes, these mass refusals to work have been disrupting in an increasingly noticable way production in entire industries of the national economy, in other regions as well.

I have made enquiries at our Central Statistical Directorate—they supply the following data: As a result of failures to deliver equipment, components from the Armenian SSR, the machine-building enterprises alone in our republic have been short of about R200 million worth of output in July alone.

Because of the deliveries of units—units for elevators—falling short of the target, as many as about 5,000 apartments have not been commissioned in the republic as a whole, the need being as great as it is.

Naturally, people are indignant over all that, it has been affecting their earnings. I believe that it touches, you see, on the interests of many collectives throughout the country, thousands of people, negatively affecting the moral and psychological atmosphere as well. That situation cannot, of course, be tolerated any further. We must not permit whoever it might be to interpret our democracy as a free-for-all, with impunity; otherwise such situations will arise again and again. Perhaps, one should proceed in a more resolute way and replace the leaders of labor collectives who have compromised themselves, especially of those who have been on strike for a long time and are actually heading the strike actions by entire collectives. Now, when the country has entered a decisive stage of restructuring, unity of actions and close cohesion of all nationalities and ethnic groups are needed more than ever.

[Kirillov] The floor was given to Kamilidenov, Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

[Kamalidenov] Dear comrades, today, just as 5 months ago, the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, cause anxiety among Soviet people. To make things worse, according to the reports coming in, the situation there has been getting even more tense, approaching a real impasse.

In our profound belief, anti-restructuring forces are at play in an active and well-organized way in Nagorno-Karabakh today, feeding the conflict, skillfully playing on the national sentiments of people, thus doing great damage to the country's economy and internationalities relations among Soviet people. We must not be under these people's thumb. Should the decision on transferring the subordination of Nagorno-Karabakh be made, it might start a chain reaction in the country. How can we guarantee that the people of other republics do not find their own sensitive points. In a word, as soon as the precedent is established, a period of refashioning borders would start. Is that in the interests of our state?

Even today, one suffers heartache when thinking of the Alma-Ata events of December the year before last, that cold and gloomy December that makes all honest people shudder, not just in our republic but throughout the country. The unhealthy situation in relations among nationalities was at that time skillfully used by demagogues, enemies of restructuring, who fed young people insidious slogans stinging their national dignity.

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Zakash Kamalidenovich, as it happens we are getting more and more information here at the center from these two republics saying that this is all cunning maneuvers by those who have been putting the brakes on restructuring—by the way, it has been going slowest of all, as we have said at our plenums and at conferences and in the press—you understand, they have redirected it all there, to Nagorno-Karabakh, to this sore point of view [as heard] so as to distract people from what problems really need to be tackled in these republics: the cadre problems, the struggle against negative phenomena and the shadow economy, favoritism, and everything else. People simply feel that there are certain forces that know that restructuring will soon be expecting something of them, that that is where people's attention must be directed. That is probably correct, because after all, the people live there and they are writing letters saying this.

[Kamalidenov] However, reason and moral health helped the Kazakh people to look soberly at what had happened, to overcome alienation between nations. The spiritual atmosphere is changing in the republic today, and the Leninist norms of public life are coming back to life. We believe that the Communists and all working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan will find the strength and courage to overcome the difficulties and disagreements that have arisen, to preserve and strengthen their friendship in the interests of the whole Soviet people.

[Kirillov] On the tribunal is Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow Gorkom first secretary.

[Zaykov] The resolution of the 19th party conference stresses that restructuring, democratization, and glasnost have laid bare negative phenomena in relations between nationalities, and at the same time have created the necessary conditions for them to be democratically overcome. These are matters that are far from simple. It is only possible to resolve them wisely, justly, without infringing on the interests of each of the brother peoples or of our union as a whole, by taking due account of all factors.

In the case of Nagoro-Karabakh the socioeconomic, legal, and historical-political aspects can be singled out. The draft resolution rightly says that behind the outer, ethnic shell of the conflict there lie real socioeconomic interests. The task of the soviets at the center and in the localities is to take under their unremitting control implementation of the major decisions adopted by the country's leadership for raising the well-being of the inhabitants of the NKAO and for further developing economic and cultural potential there. Alongside this, to instruct the law-enforcement organs to carry out an investigation into the unseemly, essentially instigatory role of those anti-restructuring forces and corrupted clans that were spoken of frankly at the 19th conference, we must also speak bluntly of the serious economic damage. The enterprises of the Armenian SSR are already behind in their supplies of component parts to Moscow factories, just this month, to the extent of several million rubles. We must state firmly that democracy is not a license, not a pretext for attempts to resolve pressing problems with strong-arm methods or emotional pressure. Redrawing republics and oblasts can rupture economic interconnections and hamper the development of the unified national-economic complex. Why should we replace on hampering mechanism with another? At the present stage of restructuring, the paramount task is not to review national and state forms, but to remove at local level residual national and social injustices, distortions in the development of the economy, the social sphere, culture, and ecology.

A few words on the legal aspect of the problem: Appeals are voiced, let's not be formalists, but let us review the provisions in the USSR Constitution on procedures for changing the borders of union republics. This is an oversimplified approach. The inviolability of its borders is the sovereign right of each of the union republics and of the USSR as a whole. Nor does the USSR Constitution grant the possibility of satisfying a request to subordinate an autonomous oblast directly to higher organs of power and administration of the USSR. Autonomous republics and oblasts belong to one or another union republic and cannot, therefore, be removed either temporarily or permanently from its jurisdiction.

To justify the need for Nagorno-Karabakh to be transferred to Armenia, they often talk of the self-determination of nations. The working people of Nagorno-Karabakh recieved the status of autonomous oblast as part of Azerbaijan in 1923, so is it legitimate to change this constitutional decision now? I think that it is not legitimate. Any precedent of redrawing borders is fraught with pernicious, unpredictable consequences. In Moscow, in Yerevan, in Baku, and in Stepanakert, endurance, patience, and wisdom must be shown. By all the power of the state, by all of the economic, political, and propagandistic means we have at our disposal, we must put an end to this protracted, unsightly situation, and return our brothers in Armenia and Azerbaijan to work, to a normal, good-neighborly life. I think that it will probably be right if the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet addresses such a proposal to the peoples of the two republics. They have to support us.

[Kirillov] Gilashvili, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, remarked in his speech that the events in the Azerbaijan and Armenian republics trouble the people of Georgia more than anyone. It is not simply a matter of territorial proximity, but that there are many people of Armenian and Azerbaijan nationality in Georgia. The speaker termed the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh very complex and unusual. It is difficult to suggest any prescription. In the conditions of our multinational motherland, all questions and problems arising in each union republic should be solved without damage to the international cohesion of the Soviet people.

Sokolov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia speaks:

[Sokolov] We consider the complication of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh an encroachment on the most sacred thing, an undermining of the foundations of the fatherland, an attempts to weaken all positive transformations taking place in the country today. But we are convinced that this business is a stunt by those who are trying in all sorts of ways to put a brake on restucturing, to replace true democracy with the democracy of the street, where disorder and pressure are raised to first place. It has already been said here that every union republic feels the events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Economic links are being broken. The production rhythm is being disturbed in many works and associations in our republic, too. But the core, of course, is not only in the economic side of the matter. We do not have the right not to see the moral, political, and ideological costs of the whipping up of national differences. It is particularly worrying to realize that young people and children are being drawn into this. What personality, what moral, civic, and international position can be formed on the example of these attitudes? We are convinced that the knot tied by extremists around Nagnono-Karabakh must be united only on the basis of prudence, within the framework of Soviet laws, within the framework of the Soviet Constitution.

[Kirillov] The floor is given to Academician Basov.

[Basov] It is difficult to speak of the events that have occurred. We all understand how many tasks we have in internal affairs, how many tasks in international life, and we are finding resolutions to international problems. Even with the Americans, we have managed to find ways to resolve the most complex issues concerning the preservation of life on earth. Yet, Nagorno-Karabakh has continued to disturb us all for many months. The sort of thing is happening that cannot be accommodated in our consciousness; we cannot conceive that this can occur at the end of the 20th century. I think that a resolution has to be found. It seems to me that it is probably necesary to try to send to Nagorno-Karabakh, and to Azerbaijan and Armenia, a commission, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, consisting of deputies, which would help unravel one knot after the other on the spot, and find the possibility for a normal way of life.

[Kirillov] In his speech Nishanov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, said in part:

[Nishanov] It is perfectly clear that in the resolution of national territorial issues, blatant diktat, methods of force, ultimative, and anticonstitutional actions are completely unacceptable.

We cannot allow any room for an arrogant, disdainful attitude toward the interests of other people. Nor can we drag around the districts, wards, and blind alleys of our great temple that we have been building for decades—the great Soviet Union. Anyone who speaks from this place must primarily feel that he is a Communist of Lenin's party, that he is an internationalist, and that the interests of the great Soviet Union are for him supreme. The same applies to any inhabitant of the fraternal republics Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Kirillov] Academician Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, speaks:

[Ambartsumyan] Comrades, I must say that I fully agree with those speakers who say that it is necessary for everything to be done in peaceful conditions, and without these strong-arm methods that can only, of course, hinder. I must say that the intelligentsia of Soviet Armenia thinks that these strikes and so on, these strong-arm methods, are of course incorrect, and this was stated by us quite definitely. I think this had an effect to some extent, and led to a certain weakening of this strike movement by our intelligentsia.

So, this is right. But on the other hand, if we want to resolve the conflict, we have first of all to understand where the causes of the conflict lie, and remove these

causes. We must, after all, look to see where all this began. For 67 years, reports have been coming out of Karabakh—I am an old man, so do not be surprised—I am saying that for 67 years I have been hearing bad reports of oppression, artificial obstacles to economic growth, coercion, and total lack of understanding of the needs of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh.

It is a fact. They tried to reassure us several times over these 67 years: Look, we have a change of leadership and now everything will be fine. But everything continued in the same way. There must be a fundamental change in the situation. This is indispensable, and this is what I want to insist on here. My proposal, of course, has always been and still is this: It is absurd to leave this oblast populated by one nation as part of another nation just because the latter wants it that way. That is not right. This directly, really contradicts Lenin's behests in this area. A direct solution must be found.

[Kirillov] On the podium is the writer Rasul Gamzatov.

[Gamzatov] Respected comrades! It is very difficult for me to speak today, but I am also unable not to say my piece because the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are a great misfortune, a real spiritual Chernobyl for us.

The most sacred and fundamental law of our people and our country, of which we are proud, has been violated: the law of friendship. Alienation and weakness have gained the upper hand over reason, goodness, and truth. It is disappointing and painful. From my viewpoint as a poet, I have seen Nagorno-Karabakh as a splendid land that unites the spirit of the fraternal republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Now it appears that this land is one that divides these two republics, whereas they could unite around it. Who and what is to blame? I understand the sentiments of the ancient and great Armenian people, a long-suffering people in whose history there have been many tragic events. As people of one language, of one destiny, one culture, of one ancient written language, they wish to live together. These national sentiments are natural human sentiments.

But when these sentiments grow too far and become nationalist sentiments, parochial sentiments, egoism, then this is out of step with our ideology, our position, and our world outlook. I understand the sentiments of the great Azerbaijani people, their sentiments for the land. Sentiments for the land are sentiments for the motherland. They have been disunited for many centuries. This people has its land. But when these sentiments for land grow too far and become territorial sentiments, then this becomes a contradiction. You see, territory and land are not the same thing. Both peoples must have enough wisdom to understand that the national interests of each of them are inseparable both from one another and from the interests of all peoples in the USSR.

[Kirillov] The floor is given to Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

[Vezirov] The peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia have lived as good neighbors for a long time, comrades. They have never fought against each other. We belong to one and the same ethnic type; we have the same musical tunes, carpet patterns. We have the same saying, even this one, this very important, and very, you know, the most important word that the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples have is 'namus.' It means honor, and at the same time, it means shame. I would like us all to remember this word, and think about the honor of our peoples, our nations, the honor of our state, and we should think of the word shame, that we should be here today discussing such a question.

Truly our destinies have been gained by suffering in the joint struggle for freedom and happiness. The interests and rights of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh can and must be guaranteed in the existing autonomous composition of the Azerbaijan SSR. We know, comrades, how much we have to do for this. A different way of asking the question would be unlawful from a legal point of view, and harmful from a political one.

I would like to say the following, too. Anti-socialist forces are well aware of the fact that a new generation has entered life, and, therefore, they are trying to pervert their minds with national and religious ideology. You know what anger and what sharp condemnation the tragedy that occurred in Sumgait aroused in all of us. We Communists, internationalists, must do everything, and even more, so that such a thing will never happen again.

What provocations will these inciters stop at? Recently, leaflets have started to reach us, printed leaflets accusing Moscow of whipping up enmity between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, of dragging out the solution of the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. We cannot close our eyes to this. We shall never allow anyone to sow strife between us and the great Russian people, which has a huge role in the genuine flourishing of all peoples of the USSR.

Comrades, immense blame for what has heppened in Nagorno-Karabakh and connected with it—and we admitted it openly at the 19th party conference—lies with the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR and of the autonomous oblast. For years the urgent problems were left without a solution. The neglect of international, patriotic education and other negative phenomena of the years of stagnation created fertile soil in the NKAO for the growth of nationalist feelings. Here I would like to stress particularly that we draw a very clear distinction between the people, those who have lost their way and fallen victim to deception, and those who are consciously whipping up the atmosphere, and are using the situation for their selfish ends. We are trying, we want—we state sincerely—we want to correct this situation.

Well, fine. They say that words have been bandied about before, but before, no one had declared restructuring to be our main aim. After all, has there ever been such a party conference in the history of our party or our state? Why do we.... [changes thought] Lenin always used to appeal to us to look at everything historically and concretely.

[Gorbachev] Probably, you know, it has been built up.

[Vezirov, interrupting] It has indeed been built up, and that is why I am saying that it is absolutely correct, absolutely correct, that is why I am saying that...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] We must look ahead.

[Vezirov] We must. It is precisely because it has all built up that we have to be in control. The speech by Comrade Ligachev at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum clearly explained the Central Committee's position. It had a serious effect on the normalization of the situation in Baku. Comrades Demichev and Razumovskiy visited Azerbaijan at the time of the events. We fully support the tenet contained in the draft decree on the inadmissibility of changing the territorial arrangements of our republic and the adoption of urgent measures to bring order to the area. It is time to pass on from the insults, reproaches, and historical digressions, to constructive work.

[Kirilov] At the rostrum is Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

[Arutyunyan] We are very concerned at the situation that has arisen, comrades. I would even say troubled. We realize that we bear the whole weight of responsibility, not only before our people but before the whole country.

The drama of the situation lies in the fact that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh has embraced almost all the population of Armenia, who are now in an extremely excited state. The situation is being worsened to a large extent by the actions of irresponsible persons, inciters, playing on people's nationalist feelings, and pushing them into ill-considered and sometimes even criminal, acts.

Unfortunately, there are still anti-restructuring, conservative forces in the republic exploiting in a speculative way the natural nationalist feelings of the people in order to destabilize the situation and achieve their selfish, ambitious schemes.

The overwhelming majority of the workers, all the honest people of Armenia, realize that the the path of strikes and antisocial acts only casts a shadow on the good name of our people. The Armenian people realize profoundly and genuinely that their friendship with the great Russian people, with the other peoples of the USSR, is of a permanent, portentous significance. Comrades, we feel extremely uncomfortable and awkward because, through our fault, many labor collectives of the union republics are breaking their production plans.

Where do the sources, the causes of the conflict, lie? This has already been spoken about. I want to speak yet again for my part. The sources of the conflict situation lie—I have already spoken about this at the 19th party conference—in the complex interweaving of historical, social, economic, cultural, and ethnic problems, and the serious mistakes that were committed in carrying out the national policy on Nagorno-Karabakh. I mean, primarily, mistakes of a national cultural nature, limitations on the right to autonomy, distortions in the cadre policy. As a result, the opinion was formed in the public conciousness of the people of the NKAO that only as part of Armenia would it be able to satisfy its national interests, to preserve its ethnic originality and integrity. It can be said without exaggeration that the population of Nagorno-Karabakh, the whole of Armenia, the whole of Azerbaijan, is awaiting the results of today's discussion of the NKAO problem with profound emotion.

What is the way out of the situation? Are any alternative solutions to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem possible? A search for compromises, which would provide the possibility of normalizing the situation, seems constructive.

There are quite a few options and possible compromise decisions. They include direct subordination—temporarily, perhaps—of the NKAO to the supreme bodies of state power and administration of the USSR or the Russian Federation.

The principle of condominium can be also considered here: joint exercise of power over the territory. The idea of giving the NKAO the status of an autonomous republic is also worth considering, with a change of name to Artsakh or Nagorno-Karabakh Armenian Autonomous Republic and its temporary transfer to central administration until the situation in it is normalized. One could also—and I believe this deserves attention, too—consider the issue of appointing now, until the situation in the NKAO is normalized, plenipotentiaries from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, who would remain in the oblast until the situation is normalized: the reality is that the NKAO today, in fact, has ceased to obey the republic, and that is a fact.

I would like to say, comrades, that the central committee of the republic's communist party is aware that a very complex situation has developed in the republic, and it calls for persistent efforts, the party organizations' line of principle, which we are seeking now. Flirting, so to speak, with, above all, these forces shaking up the republic today has not led to anything good in the many months since February. We have come to this conclusion: only a position of principle. The dialogue with

them can be conducted only from a position of principle. We will take all possible measures to emerge with honor from this—let us be frank—very difficult trial which we have had to endure.

[Kirillov] Abashidze, a poet, an academician of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, noted that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and, as a result, the tension in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, is of boundless anxiety to the Soviet people and, above all, the Georgian people. Not only because a sorrow of our brothers is our sorrow, but also because many Armenians and Azerbaijanis lived in Georgia. The speaker endorsed the opinion that meetings of representatives of the two peoples should be launched without delay. That should be done before others by representatives of intelligentsia who actively influenced the establishment of friendship among the Transcaucasian peoples.

True patriotism is the search for ways toward friendship and widescale cooperation with neighboring people. The events around Nagorno-Karabakh are detrimental to all of us, detrimental to friendship of the Soviet peoples, Academician Logunov, rector of Moscow State University, noted. The decisions made in Armenia run contrary to the USSR Constitution. We must proceed from the basic law of our country. Numerous problems have accumulated in Nagorno- Karabakh over a number of years. But restructuring is in progress, and the measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers should be monitored closely and fulfilled unconditionally in the shortest possible time. That is the main way to resolve the problem.

The speaker noted the special role of the intelligentsia of the two union republics in rallying the healthy forces of the society. At the moment that cause is slackened, he said. The impression is that someone else controls the events, not the party and Soviet bodies of Armenia.

Ambartsumyan, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR and Rector of the Yerevan State University addressed the session.

[Ambartsumyan] Today in Armenia we have a new political situation—mass public movement, which is based equally on a centuries-old complex of bitterness, injury, and deep conviction over the injustice which befell the Armenian people, as well as a belief in the victory of reason and justice. The people started to believe that all power in the USSR lies with them; that the people implement state power through the soviets, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR; and that the realization of the people's will constitutes the basis of the Leninist nationalities policy.

Guided by these founding conceptions and inspired by the ideas of restructuring and democratization, the people found it possible to tackle their sore issues through methods not customary in the preceding periods of our society. These methods included rallies and demonstrations of many thousands, spontaneously convened meetings of labor collective party organizations, and various types of strikes and hunger strikes. All of these methods were used to attain the ultimate goal. But it would be naive to think that today this movement of the people can be pacified and reduced to nothing through calls to strengthen internationalism and the friendship of peoples, in combination only with measures for socioeconomic development of the NKAO, while leaving it in the Azerbaijan SSR. The issue raised here, of reuniting the NKAO with the Armenian SSR, should be resolved politically, ignoring any formal obstacles. That would measure up to the spirit of the times and the spirit of the 19th party conference. I absolutely agree with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who today in his rejoinder said that we should be seeking compromises. And here...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I think that in your speech there aren't even any indications of these.

[Ambartsumyan] I will get to it in a moment.

[Gorbachev] You haven't said a single word by way of self-criticism. This is the first address that has not contained even a hint of self-criticism. After all, this is one of the most important platforms. Everything is going to be conveyed to the people. Perhaps that is why you want to win a cheap reputation for how you are struggling for Nagorno-Karabakh, how you defend the interests of the Armenian people. Can one really think like that? About interests of the Armenian people, of Nagorno-Karabakh, of our entire fraternal Armenia, which enjoys great prestige and the respect of all, outside of the connection with everyone, both Azerbaijan and the country—that's how we should be thinking, Comrade Ambartsumyan. I can well imagine your lectures to students (?if they were like these).

[Ambartsumyan] I considered it my duty, Mikhail Sergeyevich,...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] But we have come here to reflect...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] Precisely I was about to...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] ...But there is no reflection, no self-criticism, no compromise, nothing about what ought to be done. I share everyting you said in the sense of pain, worry. All this worries us even more.

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] Of course...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Can you imagine...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] That is why, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that is why...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You have brought here...[changes thought] You don't even want to with us.

[Ambartsumyan] I do.

[Gorbachev] So where is it, the dialogue?

[Arbartsumyan] Now I want to enter dialogue.

[Gorbachev] Only now?

[Ambartsumyan] Prior to entering dialogue with you, I considered it my duty as a Communist, educator, as you put it, rector...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Indeed.

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] ...to tell the whole truth...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] But you...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] ...which today exists in our republic. Today the situation in our republic is terribly tense. Do you follow? When you are given information, information which, well, can be heard with pleasure, I think that after that, it is very complicated to draw inferences and conclusions. I considered it, I did it consciously, I knew you'd stop me and I consciously...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You'd planned everything...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] No,...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Who would say what...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting]...It is because the absolute truth must be told, and the truth consists in the fact that today the situation in our republic is extremely serious, extremely.

[Gorbachev] Let me ask a direct question.

[Ambartsumyan] By all means.

[Gorbachev] Are you convinced that in everything that you are saying, you keep on referring to the people—that's what people think, that's how people act, this and that, the people see no way out—you are speaking for the people, precisely for the people? That's what everyone thinks?

[Ambartsumyan] I am speaking on behalf of my constituency; I am speaking on behalf of the professors; I am speaking on behalf of the student youth. They asked me to convey and to say that our situation...[changes thought] Do you understand? I have to convey this to you, I have to convey it....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Comrade Ambartsumyan, Comrade Ambartsumyan, the situation...Enough, we wouldn't be sitting here if the situation...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] It is extremely serious. You, I don't know, you have to be there, though God forbid that you be there and see what is going on today. And Surem Gurgenyevich said here: all measures... Do you understand, it is here that I am saying this, it is my duty to speak like this here. If you read and see my speech in Armenia, on television, if you see my articles, see my address after the 19th party conference, they are diametrically opposite...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I, incidently, know this and I was surprised when I heard you...

[Ambartsumyan, interrupting] Don't, don't be surprised, I precisely wanted to charge it up in order to tell you the following...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] And you are putting pressure on us.

[Ambartsumyan] No, I am not. I want to say that it is essential for us...[changes thought] If I were putting on pressure, I would have concluded like many of the speakers, who said that we cannot do anything, since there is such and such an article in the Constitution, we have to stick to it and end things there. Then I would be applying pressure. I am not a young man. I have seen a lot of life. I know a lot, but there has never and nowhere been anything like what is happening today in Armenia. And God forbid that it should happen somewhere.

We are afraid. Today the intelligentsia is afraid that any precipitate decision on this issue may lead to certain tragic consequences. We are afraid of Zvartnots Airport; we are afraid of these manufactured bombs, weapons, and so on and so forth. All these should be feared. That is why our solution today should be a compromise..

First—all these being provisional—let's say, presidential rule. Provisionally, we could establish presidential rule over Nagorno-Karabakh. Next compromise—NKAO could temporarily be removed from subordination, I emphasize, not to remove it from the structure of the Azerbaijani SSR but temporarily remove it from subordination to the Azerbaijani SSR and subordinate it to the rule by the supreme bodies, well, let's say, through creating a triumvirate. Let's say, from the Central Committee, from the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers some sort of this kind of triple alliance, while we, proceeding from this founding factor, manage to find the correct constitutional and final solution for the NKAO.

[Kirillov] At the rostrum is the writer Varges Petrosyan.

[Petrosyan] Events in Nagorno-Karabakh, and in Armenia as well, of course, could develop more peacefuliy and without drama and extremism if not for the slaughter of peaceful Armenian citizens in Sumgait. This is what the paper IZVESTIYA wrote afterwards: We must acknowledge something bitter, savage, and incomprehensible:

People have been killed and physically and morally mutilated simply because they are of another nationality. Just one definition is insufficient for a quite objective description of the bloody events. An attempt at genocide was made in Sumgait, for irrespective of the numbers of those killed, raped, and crippled, irrespective of the background of vandalism, this was genocide: People were being killed on ethnic grounds, because they were Armenians.

[Gorbachev] Genocide is a definite policy, a racial policy.

[Petrosyan] Excuse me. This was organized; it was not spontaneous.

[Gorbachev] I know the situation. There were some hours delay before the curfew was introduced, and the troops were brought in. Essentially they managed to take everything in hand that was happening in the center of Sumgait. Is that not so, Comrade Vlasov?

[Vlasov] Yes.

[Gorbachev] They dispersed them, and then these gangs of thugs and louts started roaming the town, and it was difficult even to catch them. All of this took place literally within a number of hours. Listen, these are the dregs of society that were operating. Everyone knows who these people are. It was a very sad and unfortunate thing, of course, but genocide is a policy carried out deliberately against a particular people or a minority to destroy it. Why do you raise this question when it was an escapade of gangsters? Do you want to accuse or ascribe this to the Azerbaijanis or someone else?

[Petrosyan] We are grateful to the Azerbaijanis who saved very many Armenians.

[Gorbachev] I heard this, too. They saved very many. If you (?speak) of genocide, then what genocide? You are wielding the word, and you know what kind of a word it is; you know its weight? Here is another question. You know, in your speech and in other speeches, the idea was constantly present that the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh can be solved only with its transfer to Armenia, or with a variant of this, but outside the scope of Azerbaijan. Have I understood correctly? Now tell me. No other path has been given.

[Petrosyan] I do not see any.

[Gorbachev] You do not see any. Tell me, a decision has been adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh—I am speaking hypothetically.

[Petrosyan] I understand.

[Gorbachev] Four hundred thousand Armenians remain in Azerbaijan, 207,000 in Baku. Four hundred thousand remain in Georgia, 500,000 remain in Georgia. What is to happen with them? Should they also be transferred? For the question cannot be resolved by your logic without transferring them to Armenia.

[Petrosyan] No, it is not the same thing.

[Gorbachev] What do you mean, it is not the same? If the matter can only be resolved by isolating it autonomously or by establishing some kind of state formation and changing the Constitution for one part, then it must also be done for others. Comrade Petrosyan, you must understand that we must look at all this in a realistic context, in real life. If we do this, do we have someone who will take upon himself a mission in our country of conducting these measures? For this is our path, or it is the path we are proposing: that on every piece of land, wherever a Soviet person of any nationality has lived, he should feel a worthy person. Yes, this is not so everywhere. This is not normal. This must be condemned. We must act so that this ceases to exist. We have pretended that this does not occur, relying on our enormous achievements.

Incidentally, none of you has spoken of our enormous achievements, including the development of Nagorno-Karabakh. This is a leap through centuries and through social structures. The Nagorno-Karabakh of today is a civilized autonomous oblast with all the shortcomings. So I ask the question: We in the Presidium have to adopt a decision. How are we to do this? How are we to approach it if the only solution is to transfer subordination and to isolate? What should we do then? Are we to recarve our whole country? That would be incomprehensible. People have been living in places for centuries, and they will say: Have they gone out of their minds there in the center or wherever, or among the intelligentsia? Where are you pushing the people? We live and work here. Everything has turned out alright here so that this corresponds to some invented and impracticable idea.

[Kirilov] The floor is given to Comrade Astrauskas, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR.

[Astrauskas]: I cannot understand the position of certain leaders and secretaries of party organizations and labor collectives in Azerbaijan and Armenia, with their letters containing appeals to defend their so-called interests. Incidentally, we have already had cases in Lithuania where resolutions have been adopted, so to speak, in support first of one side, then of the other. Thus we are also drawn into this situation to a certain extent, although we have enough worries and problems of our own.

In our view, the party state bodies and public organizations of the Azerbaijan and Armenian republics ought to approach the resolution of the knot of problems concerning Nagorno-Karabakh by taking due account of the existing legislation, and of combining the interests of the nationalities and ethnic groups with the interests of the whole country. We profoundly respect the peoples and

leaderships of Azerbaijan and Armenia, and the sovereignty of the republics. We appeal to them to bring about order there on the basis of reason and calm, to ensure there is normal life, and to do everything possible to restore good, fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian populations.

[Kirillov] Academician Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Primakov] I would like to say that if there is to be compromise, then a field of compromise must be sought. What field of compromise can one find? Well, to begin with, I would like to say first that comrades here are referring to points connected with history. There are no such proofs; one cannot refer to history. It is counterproductive, comrades, both from the Azerbaijani and from the Armenian side. No one will ever show that this land here, or some other land there, any land, take Samarkand, for example, or take any other places—no one will ever show that this has historically belonged to one or another people. There are no criteria in history.

Another point: The population is made up, so to speak, predominantly of one or the other, of Armenians, of Azerbaijanis, or of Georgians—this is counterproductive as well. This should not be cited; citing this cannot produce any results, comrades. Take Georgia. I grew up in Georgia. I know it well. I grew up in internationalist surroundings, absolutely, by the way, because I had all sorts of friends. We lived there and never even knew what was what. Take Marenulskiy Rayon: More and more Azerbaijanis are taking up residence there, so does that mean it must be given to Azerbaijan? Or take Akhalkalaki, (?and Akhaltsikhe), they are being settled in mostly by Armenians, so should they be transferred to Armenia? This isn't a criterion, either; one cannot look for compromises in this sphere. However, a compromise must be sought, but what kind of compromise? I believe that the oblast's status should be upgraded; it should be turned into an autonomous republic. And in conditions when it becomes an autonomous republic, there should necessarily, to start with, be a commission from Moscow which could monitor relations between Azerbaijan and...between Baku and the autonomous republic of Karabakh.

[Kirillov] Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU,

[Shalayev] Today, the real defense of the legitimate interests of workers and all working people of the two fraternal republics is, first, defending them from the actions of instigators and provocateurs, disrupters of production, who inflame internationality passions and conflict.

We communicated this position to the labor collectives and trade unions of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia when the events started. We also stated that work stoppages as a form of political ultimatum—concerning Nagorno-Karabakh—are illegal, and have all the consequences that follow from such action, for it contradicts the constitutional tenets and possibilities.

Why do the groups that do not work, and call for strike actions, not want to understand that they are letting down their comrades in other regions? What would they themselves think if deliveries of food, commodities, raw materials, and so on, to them—the collectives which do not work—were stopped? Let us imagine that 90 percent of Armenia's butter and 50 percent of its meat are delivered from the centralized union fund. Let us imagine that tomorrow the collectives that produce the butters and the meat declare a strike and do not work for 55 days. Or, let us say, the mill combines, which today continue to dispatch flour to Nagorno-Karabakh, to Stepankert, announce that they are on strike.

[Gorbachev interrupts] Incidentally, Comrade Pogasyan, in Stepanakert, there are freight cars with food that are standing idle. I was told you are not unloading them, and in the meantime, extremists are claiming that people in Stepanakert are already starving. All this is done on purpose.

[Shalayev] All these events should be assessed in a very balanced way, in the context of interdependence of all our republics and of all our processes. In their letters to us—and I believe to all other central bodies—our people do not understand why our state bodies placed the real power in Nagorno-Karabakh, in individual rayons and towns of Armenia, in the hands of antipublic committees—legal or illegal—extremists who assist in destabilizing the situation. Order must be restored. In my opinion, it would also be helpful to instruct the USSR Procuracy to intensify the control of abidance by the law in the territories of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh, and to instruct the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to ensure law and order. But the primary task of the republics, and the ministries, departments, and public organizations is, after all, restoration of order, and production work. It cannot be tolerated that this destabilization be allowed to hamper restructuring and the radical reform of the political system.

[Kirillov] Zlobin, leader of a complex brigade of the construction directorate of the Zelenograd construction association, speaks:

[Zlobin] The working class of Azerbaijan and Armenia has a glorious tradition. It has weighty merits and high authority among the Soviet people. Therefore, I want to address myself directly to it. Comrade workers, our strongest weapon is class solidarity. There is nothing higher, more reliable, or more honorable. If this weapon has grown blunt, we are worth little as a (?hegemonous) class. So I call on you, from the bottom of my heart: Do not turn away from the one true path. The hour of trial has struck for all of us, but first of all for you, the workers of Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is you who must today take the historical responsibility on yourselves for the

outcome of the matter. At a difficult time for the two fraternal peoples, it is you, the workers, who are obliged to show political maturity, lofty civic sense, unshakable loyalty to our great socialist values, the friendship of peoples, internationalism, the ideals of further revolutionary rearrangement of the world. It is the working class that must give a firm rebuttal to demogogues and provocateurs who are trying to undermine our common house, whose foundation was laid down by great Lenin.

[Kirillov] The floor was given to Tereshkova, chairperson of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Links With Foreign Countries. In the situation that has arisen, she said, many state and public organizations did not show themselves up to the job, not intervening in time in the urgent question. This applies in particular to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, too. Comrade Tereshkova supported the draft decree of the session. She stressed yet again that the solution of the problem should be implemented on a legal basis.

On the rostrum is the writer, Mirza Ibragimov.

[Ibragimov] Among us there are people who write that which is unnecessary, who develop nationalistic feelings, worm their way into our hearts, and start to develop and form nationalistic feelings. Such things must not be done. So, I appeal to my comrades and friends, Armenian writers, Georgian writers. We have very good relations with the Georgians, and we have had very excellent relations with the Armenians. [name indistinct] is sitting here. I have always considered him my friend. Whenever we met, we would kiss. [words indistinct] are also friends. Why? Because, if he has a different way of looking at a problem, we can come to terms. Argue, come to terms, yes, but we will not fight. There are people who, if you think differently from them, won't look at you or greet you. This is disgusting, inhuman.

Wise words must be heard. Mikhail Sergeyevich, you know, said very good things in his appeal to our peoples. I underlined it in red pencil, and I keep it. It is so beautifully said: National destinies must not be handed over to the rule of the emotions, to the rule of the elements. These are very wise words. Not for nothing did the ancient Greeks say that when the gods want to punish someone, first they send him out of his mind. If someone has been sent out of his mind, he thinks up such punishments for himself that no enemy could. Let us (be friends?), let us listen to wise people, to the counsel of wise people, and act so that we have friendship.

[Kirillov] Comrade Gitalov, leader of a tractor team of the 20th CPSU Congress Kolkhoz, Kirovograd Oblast, has the floor.

[Gitalov] The nationalities question is a delicate fabric. You will not achieve much by strong-arm approaches here, only spoil things. The problems that arise in this area must be solved by only one method, the democratic method. And democracy—which is cited with such delight by those who are now muddying the water in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh—does not consist of meetings and strikes; it consists of our common concern for the development and strengthening of the multinational socialist state.

In 1932 I was working in Yerevan, building the [name indistinct] combine. I was 17-years-old. I had an Armenian friend called Sarkisyan. We were working on a tractor, with which we were pumping water. We had lots of friends. There were people from the Ukraine, Kuban, Belorussia, people of very many nationalities. And at that time, we had such friendship. I cannot understand how, after so many years in our time, this could have happened. I simply do not understand. To tell the truth, I feel the same as (Zlobin), and I say that in this question I have had the luck. In what way? Well, the workers are on strike and are not going to work. But the peasantry is at work, fulfilling the food program, both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan. How is this to be understood? How is this to be understood? I do not understand.

And what about the two leaderships? Surely they can sit down and come to an agreement. I simply do not understand. It does not come into my head. Comrades, I appeal to all of those sitting here, inhabitants of Yerevan and Azerbaijan, for unity, to find a compromise, not to turn away from each other, but to sit at the same table.

[Kirillov] On the platform is Comrade Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The orator urges the Armenian and Azerbaijani comrades to rise to an awareness of our common aims, to show wisdom and patience. He outlined for those taking part in the meeting his own view on the program for the elimination of the crisis situation. It is essential, he stressed, to master the situation, that is, to guarantee the safety of all inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, and to secure order and calm there. Then all really respected representatives of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and all formal and informal leaders of the people, have to be drawn into the drafting of a mutually acceptable resolution; they must be listened to attentively, mutual understanding must be attained; and only then make a final proposal. Comrade Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general, speaks:

[Sukharev] As a representative of the authority exercising supreme supervision of compliance with the country's laws, I would like to draw attention to two aspects in the development of events, however they may be justified. The first, and I would like to say this bluntly, is the anticonstitutional and illegal nature of the actions of the authorities themselves, of the NKAO in particular, which are creating, as it were, a legally sanctioned platform for the escalation of tension and national strife. We have heard references to history today, but it is also known from documents, and I would like to stress this, too, that on the eve of the adoption of the first Constitution, in fact in July 1923, Nagorno-Karabakh's present status of oblast autonomy was determined at a session

with the participation of representatives of the population centers—moreover, with the participation of preliminary assemblies of the population. In 1924 a law was adopted on the status of the autonomous oblast. No signs were shown in favor of reviewing this status, even during the nationwide discussion of the draft of the Constitution currently in force. In this connection, I consider the decision of the session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast on seceding from the Azerbaijan SSR to be fundamentally erroneous and illegal. For the same reasons I, as a legal expert, am also bewildered by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, which endorsed the petition of the oblast soviet. This is not an act of goodwill, as they want to depict it but a path to deadlock. It's strange logic, comrades. First we ourselves, at an official level, excite people's emotions, use words about a state of impasse as though taking into account the situation that has arisen, and then we depict it all as an expression of the will of the people.

This is wrong. It is dangerous to misuse the people's trust.

Another aspect of the problem is that these negative feelings and events themselves are unfolding against a background of persistent violation of law and order. For several weeks unsanctioned, even instigated strikes have been going on in these areas, which have caused immense material losses to the national economy. Conflicts and armed attacks between peoples are being provoked with pogroms and human casualties. Ordinary crime is increasing. The violence is engendering fear and uncertainty among both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani populations. The police and procuracy are correctly reproached for their shortsightedness and liberalism in curbing the criminal elements, as has been mentioned today. We draw decisive conclusions from this criticism. Malicious hooligans, the instigators of excesses and nationalistic pogroms must be isolated and strictly punished according to Soviet laws.

[Passage omitted: Gorbachev speech published in the 20 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 37-42]

[Kirillov] In his speech, Mokanu, chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR, stressed that what is happening in the two fraternal republics is perceived with sadness, alarm, and perlexity: strikes, unjustified demands, strong-arm methods are an unsocialist way of solving problems. In effect, the economy is paralyzed in many places. The republics, themselves, are suffering damage and heavy losses. Moreover, they are parts of the country's united national economic complex, and consequently all of this is reflected in the work rhythm of other regions.

The speaker expressed the hope that in both republics, healthy forces would be found that would be able to withstand disorder and anarchy and that the leadership of Armenia and Azerbaijan would undertake every measure to ensure that law and order would prevail.

In the opinion of Pallayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR, the existing state and national status of Nagorno-Karabakh makes it possible to resolve the tasks of all the nationalities living on the territory of the autonomous oblast. Comrade Pallayev supported the proposals put forward by people who had spoken at the session. In order to settle the conflict and normalize the situation in the autonomous oblast, representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR should be sent there. In conclusion, the speaker said that we believe that the centuries' old worldly wisdom of the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia will gain the upper hand over emotions for the sake of the supreme interests of socialism.

The floor is given to Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

[Mironenko] Esteemed comrades, I would very much like to believe that the voice of reason, the calls for common sense we have just heard from the mouth of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will get through to the people and the youth of Armenia and Azerbaijan. I would very much like to believe this because I am deeply convinced that the young people of Armenia and Azerbaijan, and together with them, probably, the young people of other union republics are threatened by a very serious danger. A young person who is infected with the virus of nationalism or chauvinism is spiritually dead; he is blind. For, from then on, he will see the whole world through a distorted mirror. He will always see in all things the intrigues of those who believe differently; he will see in any crime the sign of national enmity; and where is the guarantee that he will not fall victim to this national enmity?

I am sure that not a single mother and not a single father either in Azerbaijan or Armenia or in any other republic would agree to such a fate for their children. We see our task as being to unite young people for whom their own national concerns will not obscure our Soviet ones, who cherish the ideals of socialism and internationalism, who want renewal, who want to see their people flourish rather than exhausting their strength in constant internecine strife with their neighbors. We want to look to the future and not look only to the past, though it is necessary to know about the past.

This is the basis of our fundamental disagreement, if one can say this, with the supporters of a strong-arm solution of the problem who use new words to call on us to return in essence to the old methods of solving problems between nationalities. I will say frankly that we have been given particular hope by the fact that both Comrade Arutyunyan and Comrade Vezirov are people who are well known in the Komsomol. We are confident of their deep and sincere internationalism and in their deep devotion to the interests of their own peoples.

I am sure that if the pressure is taken off, if these methods are found, they will be able to find—and they will find, of course, together with the whole leadership of the republic, in time—solutions that will make it possible for these two peoples, both the present and future generations, to live in peace.

[Kirillov] Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko spoke in conclusion.

[Gromyko] Comrades, I think you will believe me. I have thought for a long time about how to gain your sympathy. It is not easy for me to speak, and so I will not call what I am about to say a speech, but a conclusion, which might be somewhat more flexible. First of all, I would like to stress that the exchange of opinions that has taken place has exposed quite clearly the prime foundation, as it seems to me, upon which conflicts between nationalities should be examined and tackled, in the conditions of socialism in general, and in the case of the present conflict that is the subject of our discussion. In the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, such a prime foundation is, in my view, clearly formulated. The content is pithy—I will come back to it later. The essence is that we live in a multinational state and are connected by a common historical destiny, a destiny in the broadest, deepest, and most noble sense of this word. For that reason, improvement of relations between nationalities must proceed with due regard for the interests of all nations and ethnic groups of the country. It cannot be of detriment to our main achievement, the integrity of our union, the unbreakable friendship of all Soviet peoples. That is the first and main thing.

The second thing is that all must be quite clearly aware that we cannot ignore the legal side of the issue. This is unacceptable for us primarily because when we have put forward and justified, profoundly justified, the idea of creating a socialist, law-based state at the conference, and when we are battling against violations of legality, we cannot begin implementing the decisions of the conference with a violation of the USSR Constitution. I remind you again of the provisions of Article 78 of the Constitution—this is worth doing, it will be a good thing if this is the last time we talk about this, here at this session, but perhaps it is not the last time: The territory of a Union republic cannot be altered without its consent. The borders between Union republics may be altered by mutual accord of the relevant republics, which is subject to confirmation by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That is simple and clear, but not everyone has absorbed it well. That, comrades, is a reality that cannot be ignored, and we have no right to ignore it. Starting the construction of a law-based state by violating its basic law means permitting a gulf between words and deeds.

Third, does this mean that all possibilities have been exhausted for seeking a mutually acceptable decision within the framework of the USSR Constitution, within the framework of democratic procedures, without putting pressure on organs of state power, without whipping up emotions? Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke well here on this theme; and other speakers also touched upon it. I think there can only be one answer: No, they have not been exhausted. Moreover, in essence, such work has virtually not yet begun. The comrades who have spoken at this session have cited tens of examples confirming the correctness of this thesis. Two fraternal republics immediately occupied irreconcilable positions. Unfortunately, no concrete and creative dialogue was started between them. Such a dialogue undoubtedly could, and, moreover, should have led to the adoption of mutually acceptable decisions which observed the Constitution. The striving to find a way out of situations which seem to have no way out leads to positive results even in international affairs.

It seems to me that even if not all, then at least the majority of those present here, those who are members of the Presidium and those who are not, could read lecture to any audience on this theme, citing examples from our foreign policy, from international life. And here we are talking about fraternal peoples, about good traditions, about decades of fruitful cooperation. Surely all this cannot be of no account? Surely all this cannot be thrown aside?

Such a position adopted by two neighboring republics is not in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism. This applies to the leadership of Azerbaijan and Armenia. We are not going to attempt to see where the burden of blame lies. The leadership should convince people, set the tone, should be able to lead and effectively oppose nationalistic manifestations. But where is this opposition that we are talking about? There has not been any, and there still is none. You have spoken eloquently about this. But order must be established. It is essential to demonstrate political maturity and a civic position.

Nagorno-Karabakh is not a private or regional question. I would like to repeat that phrase: Nagorno-Karabakh is not a private or regional question. Today it is causing alarm to all Soviet people. People are awaiting intently, and hoping that the friendship of the peoples, even in these conditions, will confirm its indestructibility. I was with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Poland. The first question we were asked was: What have you heard? What is the news from the Caucasus, from Armenia, from Azerbaijan, from Nagorno-Karabakh? This is awaited by the whole country. The main thing now is to overcome the alienation between the republics, to undertake measures to stabilize the situation.

[Kirillin] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium unanimously adopted a decision on the question under discussion.

### Participants Listed

*LD1807162588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 88*

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium opened in the Kremlin today. Those taking part are examining the decisions made by the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR on Nagorno-Karabakh. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is taking part in the session. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko delivered introductory remarks, noting that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh continues to intensify. The situation requires a profound understanding of its full complexity and an ability to rise above emotions and various kinds of insults in the name of the Soviet people's higher interests. The search for the correct decision should be conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution, socialist values, and mutual respect for the views, traditions, and national dignity of all of the peoples.

Comrade Gromyko handed the floor to Comrade Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The next to speak was Comrade Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Pogosyan, first secretary of the party obkom of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous oblast, gave his opinion on the existing situation.

The following took part in the discussion: Comrade Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Zaykov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Comrade Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Sokolov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee;

Academician Basiv, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and director of the Lebedev Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Comrade Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Academician Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; the writer Gamzatov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Abishidze, academician of the Georgian SSR Acedemy of Sciences; Academician Logunov, rector of the Moscow Lomonsov State University; Comrade Ambartsumyan, rector of the Yerevan University and academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; Comrade Petrosyan, secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board; Comrade Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and Internatioanl Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences;

Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; Comrade Zlobin, team leader of the complex team of the Zelenogradstroi Construction and Assembly Association; Comrade Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; Comrade Ibragimov, people's writer of Azerbaijan; members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Comrade Gilatov, team leader of a tractor team named for the 20th CPSU Congress Kolkhoz in Kirovograd Oblast; Comrade Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Comrade Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general.

Then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was called on to speak.

### Further on Demichev Comments at News Conference

*PM2007142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] A news conference was held on 19 July at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session which discussed the decisions adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Addressing Soviet and foreign correspondents, P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted that the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh transcend the borders of the two republics and affect the fundamental interests of all Soviet people. Moreover, an unprecedented situation has arisen in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh in that the supreme soviets of two union republics have taken opposite stands on the same issue.

The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, P.N. Demichev said, has definite historical roots. The historical aspect of the problem is highly contradictory. After the Great October Socialist Revolution, despite the complexity of

the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the principled stand taken by Lenin's party made it possible to remove interethnic relations there from deadlock.

In their speeches at the presidium session deputies expressed concern—with reason—that the actions taken by extremist elements are undermining the friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples that has developed during the years of Soviet power. The events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have done serious economic damage—not only to Azerbaijan and Armenia—but to other regions of the country.

P.N. Demichev emphasized that during the presidium session you could clearly feel a greater sense of responsibility among Communists from the fraternal republics and their willingness to actively cooperate in the joint search for a solution to the problems that have arisen. Every people and every nation must guard the sacred law of friendship. This is the only way that every Soviet citizen will be able to feel a free citizen in our country, irrespective of his nationality and place of residence.

We must now consistently implement practical measures concerning the economic, social, and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh. We must also reinforce the guarantees that these measures will really be implemented and that they will not remain simply as more promises.

A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, and A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor, took part in the press conference.

Journalists' questions were answered.

## Further on Situation in Azerbaijan, Armenia

### Interior Minister Interviewed

*LD2007203088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Interior Minister Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov by correspondent Yevgeniy Sinitsyn; time, place not given; video shows Sinitsyn interviewing Vlasov in studio throughout—recorded]

[Text] [Sinitsyn] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, the whole country is now living with the events of sad renown in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. The viewers are awaiting your account of what has been happening there.

[Vlasov] The situation in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense. You are aware—and yesterday the viewers saw it—that a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered questions relating to Nagorno-Karabakh. By decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium local soviet and law-enforcement bodies have been instructed to strengthen public and labor discipline, normalize the situation, and ensure strict compliance with Soviet laws.

There have been daily reports from various areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia of firearms and other weapons being taken from people. After our appeal, some people have voluntarily surrendered their weapons. Between February and now, about a score of pistols, over 20 combat grenades, dozens of petrol bombs, and over 400 knives have been confiscated from people in Azerbaijan. Approximately the same number of weapons have been confiscated in Armenia.

There have been fresh examples. During yesterday's meeting in Yerevan, two citizens were detained in a neighboring building, and 35 petrol bombs were taken off them. Storage containers holding an incendiary substance were also removed. Also yesterday, a major catastrophe was averted: In a residential block, the gas-pipe system had been sawn through on the first floor, and a candle had been lit on the second floor. It was only thanks to the prompt actions of people—workers of the internal affairs bodies—that a major explosion was prevented.

One tends to think that in this atmosphere—and behind the backs of those attending meetings and those on strike at enterprises—some extremist elements have been acting in a conscious way.

[Sinitsyn] Is somebody's guiding hand to be sensed in all this?

[Vlasov] We think this has all been organized. We have specific examples. We have a number of criminal cases that are now being investigated for illegal actions, by particular individuals who were organizers of the disorders at Yerevan airport and also at Evlakh and Kazakh in the Azerbaijan SSR, and at Masis. There have been quite a few such examples.

[Sinitsyn] Some people expect a stiffening of measures. What can you say in this regard?

[Vlasov] The Internal Affairs Ministry bodies and the procuracies have stepped up their fight against all kinds of antisocial phenomena and crime in the Transcaucasus. But they are, above all, guided by the laws. They have to operate strictly within the framework of the law. There is, of course, pressure upon us to restore order. I understand that some people are demanding that arrests be made, but I think this is not the way to combat it. We should act by political measures, first and foremost, and within the framework of the law. We must also, of course, ensure good order. Where it is necessary, we are acting resolutely. Naturally, the common work of the party, soviet, state and law-enforcement bodies will produce its results.

## Yerevan First Secretary Comments

*PM1907124588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the headline "Resuming Normal Work"]

[Text] Yerevan, Jul 17—A deceptive calm in Yerevan in daytime is replaced in the evenings by stormy meetings called by the "Karabakh" Committee. At these meetings they make irresponsible calls for replacing with "their own people" party leaders and economic managers who declare for a reasonable and calm solution of the problems that have accumulated in the republic.

In this situation the sound forces led by the republican party organization firmly uphold the constructive program of actions aimed at the earliest normalization of life in Armenia.

"A tense situation in Yerevan and continued strikes at a number of industrial enterprises suggest the conclusion that there is no time to lose," Yerevan Gorkom First Secretary M.S. Minasbekyan said today.

"In the days of strikes the republic has lost some R70 million," he said on local television. "The population of Yerevan will not receive some 400 apartments, 300 places in schools, 200 places in kindergartens, and some 150 hospital beds. A day of strikes costs us on an average some 32 apartments, which amounts to one nine-storey house. As it always happens in extreme situations, market prices soar and other negative phenomena that have an adverse effect on the life of our people appear. Each striker will not get R100-150 in wages. And meanwhile some persons try to pass off strikes as actions to the benefit of people."

"Workers in many regions of our country address their class brothers with a request not to interfere with their pace of work," the gorkom first secretary said.

M.S. Minasbekyan is of the opinion that a small group of people led by the so-called "Karabakh" Committee and using the Karabakh movement as a cover is entering the sphere of political struggle. The calls of the recent days attest to their aims. Work methods have also changed. The breach of the public order takes place. There are cases of violence against public transport and collective workers who opposed the strikes.

Having analyzed in detail the development of deplorable events at Zvartnots Airport, M.S. Minasbekyan pointed to the unsavory role that the "Karabakh" Committee played in these events. "It has actually not done anything toward normalizing the situation there. While we have been exerting efforts for 2 days to convince people to leave the airport, what about the 'Karabakh' Committee, what about its active stand," he asked. "And now the 'Karabakh' Committee tries to deny its involvement in these events."

M.S. Minasbekyan also said that constantly making appeals to the people, the "Karabakh" Committee does not want to regard real people with their daily cares. And indifference can lead to heavy consequences.

"I am confident that the Communists of the capital, all its people will not tolerate the continuation of such irresponsibility, will not allow the demagogues to encroach on power," he said.

In conclusion the gorkom first secretary urged the working people of Yerevan to return to their work places and establish the pace of work which is the basis for remedying the situation. He said that the plenary meeting of the gorkom held 3 days ago adopted a decision to work out the the program for the normalization of life in Yerevan and suggested that people of Yerevan should take a most active part in this. Besides that, party gorkom secretaries and gorispolkom deputy chairman will appear on local television on Tuesdays and Thursdays and it will be possible to ask them any questions by telephone. This will help people to take a correct bearing in the situation and combat all sorts of rumors that are sometimes circulated by dishonest persons who pursue their own self-seeking aims.

Dwelling on meetings, he emphasized that there is a need for them, but they should be held in the framework of legality, in spare time, without violations of public order, without doing damage to citizens and interfering with their rest. "There is a need for constructive meetings, as many problems accumulated, particularly such matters as combating speculation, bribe-taking, and protectionism. Social justice should, at last, be restored. This is where the start should be made. And we will be deciding these matters together, in unity, as we have no other road," the leader of the party organization of the Armenian capital emphasized.

Appeals to all working people to finally organize normal life in the republic were made by Hero of Socialist Labor S. Vardanyan, chairman of the Khandzhyan Kolkhoz in Araratski8y Rayon, and a deputy to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet; and G. Gabriyelyan, chairman of the labor collective council at the "Masis" production association.

S. Vardanyan stressed that the republic's working people should create appropriate favorable conditions for the successful work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He called on the inhabitants of Armenia to show vigilance and rebuff any rogues who try to exacerbate the existing tension. Armenians have been together with the great Russian people for many centuries, he said. They have shared victories and disappointments with them, and we are obliged to continue traveling the path of the great traditions of this friendship. That is our aim and our creed.

Throughout their history the Armenian people have safeguarded their existence through their own labor, G. Gabriyelyan said. Now too let us ask anyone if they can live without work. Especially as it is linked iwth the work of the entire country. The worker called on the republic's working people to display a sober and sensible attitude to work. This is now urgently required by the serious situation that has emerged.

On Sunday TASS correspondents interviewed many workers who have not left their enterprises on the days of strikes. For instance, manager of number 13 trolleybus route Lyusya Barsegyan said that her colleagues had come to their work places every day. She urged the transport workers of the Armenian capital, all the Armenian working people, to at last ensure normal life in the republic.

### Yerevan Debates Resolution

*PM2107084388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and P. Gutiontov: "Yerevan, 20 July"]

[Text] We do not think we will be mistaken if we say that television had a 100-percent audience in Armenia yesterday evening. And the morning newspapers were bought up from all the kiosks in an instant.

The people of Yerevan are attentively grasping the meaning of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution and the speeches of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and other participants and are heatedly discussing and debating them. Naturally, different viewpoints are being expressed.

The city has been working since morning. People realize how much has to be done now to emerge from the state of crisis and to make up for the time lost over the weeks of idleness. At the Yerevan Motor Vehicle Plant, for example, which we visited, the workers are putting forward proposals to work extended shifts in order to make good the arrears by the end of the quarter. Some of them are even prepared to give up their vacation this year. We were told this by G. Kulikova, chairman of the plant trade union committee.

"I am Russian, and I have long known Armenia and its people well," G. Kulikova said. "And I want to say that they are fine, talented people, real working people. You can take them at their word."

M. Ter-Karapetyan, secretary of "Yerevan" Railroad Station's primary party organization, telephoned the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center. He reported: "Today, as on previous days, our collective is working efficiently and harmoniously. Despite all the difficulties, passenger trains have been coming and going strictly to schedule. I would like to name my comrades—G. Ayrapetyan, V. Malkhasyan, K. Simonyan. Like many other railroad workers, they were working all the time the strike was continuing in the city."

### Strike Affecting Brest Workers

*PM2007125988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "On Strike in Armenia—Suffering in Brest"]

[Text] "Because of a total failure to deliver motors produced by the 'Armelektrodvigatel' Production Association's Yerevan plant, production of heat generators for the country's agro-industrial complex, which are needed to dry grain and hay and to ensure that livestock units are fully equipped, has completely stopped. A critical financial situation has come about at the plant. Through your newspaper we beg that the collective of the aforesaid plant be asked to accelerate the dispatch of electric motors and observe rhythmicity—so said Yu. Silakov, chairman of the plant's labor collective council."

Our correspondent A. Nazaykin telephoned G. Vnuk, deputy director of "Brestselmash" who said:

"During the first half of the year the Yerevan plant undersupplied us to the tune of 1,500 electric motors. And in July we have not received a further 2,000. As a result, vast quantities of incomplete output is piling up in the enterprise: Passageways in shops and the factory yard are obstructed. And yet people at all ends of the country are waiting for this equipment: kolkhozes, sovkhozes, other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex... And our finances are in dire straits now—we do not have the money to pay an advance."

I. Payuk, chairman of the trade union plant committee said:

"This is not the first time the Yerevan plant has let us down, but the situation has never before been as grave. And what is most incomprehensible and offensive is the fact that it is not the Gosplan or the ministry that has made a mess of things but that we are being let down by our brother workers. Do people there, in Yerevan, really not realize that we have no other source of earnings? The impression is created that Yerevan workers are not suffering as we do. Otherwise how can we explain this frivolity—strikes in plants?"

A. Karpovich, electric welders' team leader said:

"The majority of the workers are highly skilled, but there is no work in the plant now. We have to grab any work just so as to take some money home: We build dachas

and render various services to the population. But is this proper work? The Yerevan workers must now not only get down to work but also fulfill their pledges on deliveries." [Karpovich ends]

A complex situation has taken shape at "Brestselmash." No one knows when the electric motors will arrive from Yerevan. No one knows whether the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry will help to reach agreement on deliveries from Tbilisi and Kharkov, where exactly similar motors are produced. So far one thing is clear: "Brestselmash" will not be able to return quickly to normal rhythmic working.

### 200,000 Gather in Yerevan

*LD2007204288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Announcer] Our special correspondent sent the following report from Yerevan today. [video shows reporter with microphone]

[Political observer Viktor Beketov, identified by screen caption] Practically every evening, here on these slopes and steps, in this square and in adjoining streets, the residents of Yerevan gather for a meeting. Many thousands of people attend. A meeting like this took place yesterday. The intention was to hold a meeting with the Armenian leaders who had just returned from the Moscow session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. They were to have reported to the populace on the decisions of the country's supreme legislative body.

However, such a report was not made at the meeting. The republic leaders were simply not allowed to say a single word. The shouting, whistling, and disapproving clapping of the crowd, which numbered at least 200,000 people, did not even let the leaders approach the microphone. The meeting continued without them, and the people were addressed by those who have been conducting their own special brand of propaganda work with them almost every evening—members of the organizationally disbanded but, in reality, actively operating, Karabakh Committee. [video shows trumpet player before a large crowd gathered in a square; followed by a shot of Armenian leaders facing chanting and whistling crowd, waving their fists. A man, identified as Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, approaches a microphone but fails to make himself heard]

The main thought that stayed with me during the meeting as follows: Why have the Armenian leaders—and not just Armenian—lost the habit and the art of talking with the people? Why have they lost the principle means without which the party's link with the masses is impossible—the art of living and direct contact with real people? [video shows further shots of crowd chanting and waving clenched fists]

And now a few words about the situation in the republic and its capital today, 20 July. If I tried to find the main words that would express the essence of what is taking place most accurately, I would name two—people are pondering and reassessing. Having viewed the television report on the Kremlin session—which ended well after midnight, considering you have to add on an hour for local time—people awoke in a more serious and rapt frame of mind. They are pondering the further destiny of the Armenian people, and reassessing many of the values that only recently seemed almost incontrovertible. Of course, it is too early to speak of a turning point in the people's awareness and conduct, but an invisible, yet very tangible milestone separates yesterday from today.

According to official accounts, the collectives of industrial enterprises and establishments and the public transportation system were working today in Yerevan and throughout the republic. I would like to make special mention of the fact that printers at the SOVIET ARMENIA printing house, produced an additional run of today's issue carrying a report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session for dispatch to Stepanakert. A strike was called at the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH printing house today. That is all for today. [video shows people in street, traffic]

### Yerevan Situation 'Normal'

*AU2007194188 Paris AFP in English 1827 GMT 20 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 20 (AFP)—Several hundred thousand people gathered in Yerevan Wednesday evening to plan a response to the Supreme Soviet's refusal to cede the region of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, an Armenian source said in a telephone interview. Nationalist sources said however that the situation in Yerevan had returned to "normal", since the suspension of a general strike Monday.

There were Soviet troops outside Yerevan, sources added, but none in the Armenian capital, and only "a few factories" were still idle.

In other developments, Elena Ayrikyan, wife of jailed Armenian nationalist Paruyr Ayrikyan, said in a telephone interview that she had been refused a promised prison visit to her husband. TASS reported earlier Wednesday that Paruyr Ayrikyan, 39, had been stripped of his Soviet citizenship and was to be expelled from the country.

Mrs. Ayrikyan said that she was forbidden to see him when she went to the KGB detention center Wednesday where her husband has been held since March 24. Mrs. Ayrikyan added that the U.S. Consulate in Moscow told her that the Soviet Foreign Ministry had requested visas for her family 10 days ago. She said that her husband refused to leave the Soviet Union and that she and her children would therefore not go to the United States.

Paruyr Ayrikyan headed a Union for National Self-Determination consisting of more than 100 militants favourable to the transfer of Armenian dominated Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia. He has spent 17 years in prison or internal exile.

### Street Interviews in Stepanakert

*LD2007205088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent P. Luskov from Stepanakert]

[Text] Early in the morning we saw the following unusual little scene in the town of Shusha: straight from the window of a bus a woman was giving out candy. When we came up to her she explained: We have a reason to celebrate today.

[Begin recording] [Luskov addresses woman] Excuse me, who are you?

[Grigoryan] Azkhen Atemona Grigoryan, I am a member (?of the) plenum of the Shushinskiy Raykom and a deputy of the soviet.

[Luskov] Are you Armenian?

[Grigoryan] Yes, I am Armenian.

[Luskov] And are you treating Azerbaijanis?

[Grigoryan] My husband is an Azerbaijani. My children are Azerbaijani. My daughter has graduated from the Baku Medical Institute.

[Luskov] What do you think? How will relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis be in future? How will they live in the oblast in future?

[Grigoryan] I know that it will be fine.

[Z.E. Gasanov, student at Azerbaijan Institute of Russian Language and Literature, identified by screen caption] Now things are very fine with us, the more so after the decision when everything here has been resolved as it should. And for this reason all of us here have of course a very good opinion of this, we, just like all Azerbaijanis, are in a very good mood.

[Luskov] And probably not only Azerbaijanis?

[Gasanov] And, of course, all conscientious Armenian men and women.

[Luskov] But, there were also other meetings, other conversations, and other assessments today. Here, near the musical college in Stepanakert—an exam on the Russian language was in progress here—a few parents of the graduating students claimed that incorrect decisions had been made, that the Presidium had received incorrect information and had been misled.

I will note one particular feature. None of the persons to whom I was speaking could read the text of the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium today: the central papers had not yet arrived and the journalists of the local party obkom organs, the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper, refused to print the reports received via the TASS channels.

Calm has not yet come to Nagorno-Karabakh. Patrols of soldiers and militiamen are forced to check cars on the roads—and not for nothing: quite a few weapons are being confiscated, unknown agitators who oppose the decision are operating. [video shows helmeted soldier with walkie-talkie and militiamen checking documents of truck driver, car driver]

When we were present people were often stopped from speaking to us.

(Armen), you are after all, the secretary of the party organization. [Luskov is walking behind two men and calls out to one of them; the men don't turn around and walk on; one replies indistinctly to Luskov's call] Well, let's talk here. [man disappears into building and Luskov remains outside with the microphone]

Well, this is how the secretary of the party organization of the road building directorate, (Armen Mikoelyan), refused to talk about anything to us. But prior to this he and his comrade answered us: We want one thing, they said, that Nagorno-Karabakh should be part of Armenia.

This makes one think that the work of the Stepanakert party organization in implementing the party's decisions, the Central Comittee resolution, and the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has, to put it mildly, for the time being, not yet started.

The situation was similar elsewhere. It is not at all surprising that almost all enterprises did not work in Stepanakert today too. [end recording]

### Karabakh Committee 'Demagogues'

*LD2107100188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Jul, (TASS)—TASS correspondents report: Since 18 July an increasing number of Armenia's enterprises have been working at a normal pace. Those who stopped work or did not work to full capacity in Yerevan, Kirovokan, or other towns are back at their desks.

Secretaries of raykoms and activists met with collectives and gave explanations concerning the situation that had developed in the republic. People agreed that the democracy and glasnost entering our lives should not lead to anarchy, which is the result of actions of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee.

Among those who fanned national animosity, who sought, at the price of their dishonor, to cover up for "shadow economy" dealers, for clans of careerists and bribe-takers, the republican press lists the names of Ashot Manucharyan, director of studies of Secondary School No 183; Samson Kazaryan, teacher in the same school; Ambartsum Galystyan, employee of the laboratory of sociological studies of the Yerevan Gorkom; Rafael Kazaryan, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR; Vano Siradegyan, a member of the Armenian Writers' Union; and others.

The provocateurs were distributing instigatory leaflets concocted by bourgeois nationalists [dashnaks] in the 1920s. "Let the Russian-Jewish-Turkish-Tatar bloc drown in our blood," one of them said.

But they did not restrict themselves to leaflets. During a meeting on 18 July in the area of Matenadaran Square two fighters were detained—Vartan Silikanyan, born in 1966, and Martin Barsekyan, born in 1967. They had brought to the meeting 35 bottles of incendiary mixture.

The Economic Council set up within the so-called "Karabakh" Committee carefully sought out the most vulnerable points in the economy of the republic and the country at the time when the party and government were working persistently to make all Soviet people feel as quickly as possible the real results of restructuring. "We know where to hit," the committee boasted in one of its leaflets. As we see, the blows were really painful. For more than 10 days the republican maternity hospitaly did not receive medical oxygen because the workers of the oxygen plant were on strike.

The irresponsible activity of the "Karabakh" Committee inflicted enormous damage on the working people of Armenia. Apart from direct shortfalls, which reached R70 million, the population of Yerevan received some 400 apartments, 300 student's places, 200 places in kindergartens, and 150 hospital beds fewer than they should have. To this it is worth adding that each striker may lose some R100-150 in pay, since Article 101 of Armenia's labor legislation says that idling time through the worker's fault is not subject to remuneration.

It would be more correct to call the "Karabakh" Committee a group of demagogues who, using the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh as cover, have their own selfish aims to resolve. Making use of the fact that the previous leadership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee let the initiative slip through its fingers and gave up positions one by one, the committee's people created ramified organizational and political structures. "Karabakh" branches are active at virtually every enterprise and establishment, and in educational establishments, taking party organizations along with them in a number of cases. These people, while taking workers from their machines and plunging the republic into economic chaos, have not suffered any loss themselves. Members of the committee have been receiving wages from their main workplaces punctually. And no small wages—R. Kazaryan, for example, gets about R800 a month; B. Araktsyan and L. Ter-Petrosyan [preceding two names as received]; R400 each; and A. Manucharyan, R340. They have also enjoyed all the other social benefits guaranteed by the USSR Constitution.

The provocateurs have managed to paralyze the work of the law-enforcement bodies in the republic. This has led to an increase in the number of illegal actions against workers in public transport and at enterpises who did not obey the demand to strike. The slackness of the local law-enforcement bodies reached its apogee during the occupation of Zvartnots Airport.

Without meeting with any particular obstacles, a group of aggressive young people forced the staff to stop working, thus flouting their right to work. Vigor on the part of "guardians of the law" was manifested only when they started looking for witnesses to "overstepping of power" by servicemen who had to go there to ensure the normal functioning of the airport, which also is important to defense.

Incidentally, it fell to the lot of the central bodies for preservation of public order, specially assigned to Armenia, to detain the most active instigators of this action and to confiscate weapons.

A. Pogosyan, one of the most active participants in the occupation of the airport, was arrested by the USSR Procuracy. Firearms were confiscated from other detainees.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1005 GMT on 21 July carries the same report, adding the following here:

[...from other detainees.

[If there were any illusions in anybody's mind over a political orientation of members of the committee, they were dispelled after the July 20 rally where members of the "Karabakh" Committee opposed in an impermissible form a resolution of the supreme body of power in the country—the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[The republic is... (adding paragraph)]

The republic is going through difficult days. But although the provocateurs have managed to confuse a lot of people, they will never be able to take the talented and assidous Armenian people, an internationalist people, along with them.

## Yerevan Agitators Still Active

*PM2107102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and S. Oganyan "Report From Yerevan": "At Their Work Places"]

[Text] Armenian SSR—This is the 3d day all enterprises and organizations, public transport, and stores have been working in the Armenian capital.

But today is not the starting point of these notes—we will begin with Monday 18 July. It was then that we had our first meeting with Grant Tandilyan, an electrician in one of the shops of the "Armelektromash" Production Association. The day was memorable for two reasons. First, a strike which had lasted for 2 weeks had ended and, second, a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was being held in Moscow on the Karabakh problem.

Yesterday we met with him again. Our meeting took place at the plant. Like everyone else in Armenia, the day before G. Tandilyan had watched the television report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, which had ended late at night. What would he say about the resolution?

"It is good that the Karabakh problem has been discussed at such a high level," he said. "But I am not sure that this will change the fate of the people living in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Cardinal solutions are needed here, I feel. Of course we are not going to stop working again—we are not our own enemies...."

Together with us in the shop were L. Gustin, second secretary of the Leninskiy party raykom, and L. Zhuykova, deputy secretary of the association party committee. The workers know them well. They trust them. It is no accident that precisely the party committee was approached by two team leaders, who informed it of their decision to work next Saturday and Sunday. After all, the enterprise has a lot of catching up to do.

"If our rayon as a whole has fallen R15 million in arrears to the state as a result of strikes," L. Gustin remarked, "more than R8 million of this is owed by 'Armelektromash.'"

It goes without saying that the end of the strike is a serious factor in the normalization process. But it is no less important to restore good relations between representatives of the army and the population. These relations have been complicated since the incident at Zvartnots Airport. The other day a group of civilians appeared at one of the military units. There were children among them. The soldiers had invited people from the rayon to their club. Meanwhile the finished script of a performance that would tell the soldiers about Armenia, its history and achievements, was with the "Armelektromash" party committee. The performance was to be given in one of the largest halls in Leninskiy Rayon. The fact that relations are being restored is shown by something else too: Soldiers are taking their meals with workers in the plant canteen.

The situation in which party workers and leaders of the "Armelektromash" are now working is largely typical of the whole republic. This is what we were told by R. Stepanyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Council for Tourism and Excursions:

"Between February, when the events in Karabakh began, and June 300 tourist groups canceled their bookings for visits to Armenia. We have received 150 cancellations so far for July and we are already 35 groups short for August.... We are making serious losses despite the fact that none of our staffers actually took part in the strike. Excursions went ahead even on the days when the streets were filled with people. On these occasions we simply changed our route. And now we are getting cancelations. Many people think that the airport is still occupied and that armed patrols are walking the streets. This is not so. Yerevan, as before, is one of the most hospitable cities. You are welcome!"

In the morning, we got through on the telephone to O. Zargaryan, first secretary of the Kamo Armenian Communist Party Raykom. Our choice was no accident. Throughout the first 6 months of the year, there had not been a single rally, demonstration, or strike in the Kamo Rayon. Despite the actions of activists from the "Karabakh" Committee, who had made outright calls for a strike, working people in the rayon had continued work. There had only been a week's stoppage at one enterprise.

"Consequently the rayon was understandably offended by the subject of the 'Vremya' program," Oganes Norayrovich said, "which said that arrears in deliveries of condensers to Riga, Leningrad, and other cities are the result of strikes. This point needs to be cleared up: The plant which produces the condensers has found itself in a difficult position, for which subcontractors—including those in Yerevan in Sumgait—are to blame. As early as last year, we appealed to our ministry in this connection but we have not only not been given any real assistance—we have not even had a reply."

We would like to add that in these difficult months for Armenia, all enterprises in Kamo Rayon—with the exception of the abovementioned plant—have met their plan and contractual targets.

"People have received the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution with understanding," O. Zargaryan continued. "We are aware that it reflects the will of all Soviet people—and Armenians are an inalienable part of this people. People are saying: We will work for restructuring!"

It must be admitted, however, that there are forces in Yerevan and the republic as a whole which want to impede the normalization of the situation and are still agitating the people. For example, on the eve of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session members of the "Karabakh" Committee called for meetings to be held at enterprises, institutions, and organizations to hold fresh elections to labor collective councils and party and trade union committees. And on Tuesday evening at a rally by the Matenadaran, members of MVD bodies arrested several people who "happened to have about their person" 32 bottles containing combustible material.

The situation in Stepanakert remains tense, we were told by the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom. Strikers there even made it impossible to publish on time newspapers which contained the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution.

The role played by the party and soviet aktiv is now extremely important, as they are expected to clearly demarcate the people's aspirations and the actions of those who, working on national feeling, are trying to destabilize the economic and political situation in the republic. A considerable amount of work has been done since the arrival of the new leadership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The republic party organization, which, we will be frank, until recently had little contact with the masses and was not in control of events, is beginning to determinedly rebuff antirestructuring forces. The party apparatus has been strengthened. People following the lead of the "Karabakh" Committee are being severely punished, even expelled from the CPSU. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has made serious complaints against the republic's law enforcement bodies. It is incomprehensible, for example, why they are turning a blind eye to the activities of the "Karabakh" Committee which has been disbanded as a result of a decree issued by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium....

In the reception hall of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, we were shown dozens of letters addressed to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. People support the party line of stabilizing the situation in the republic and its capital, condemn the calls to strike, and give their word that they will work with the party for the sake of restructuring's success and the happiness of the Armenian people.

A rally was held in Yerevan in the evening of 20 July, which passed without any serious excesses. The situation in the city is calm.

### Further on Yerevan Strikes

*LD2107084188 Hamburg DPA in German 0759 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Following a mass rally of around 400,000 people on Wednesday evening, there were further strikes in enterprises in Yerevan, capital of the Armenian SSR, on Thursday. This was stated to DPA by a representative of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS by telephone when questioned. The situation is tense. However, soldiers were no longer patrolling the streets. It is not yet possible to say how many enterprises have been affected by the strike.

On Monday the Armenians decided to resume work to give the Soviet leadership a breathing space during the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. As expected, the decision by Moscow to maintain Nagorno-Karabakh, where Armenians form the majority, as part of the Azerbaijan SSR has led to a fierce reaction from the Armenians. Soldiers from other parts of the Soviet Union have been deployed to help the police. [passage omitted]

According to a report in Thursday's edition of the trade union paper 'TRUD,' strikes are also continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh. On Wednesday the local paper carrying the decisions by Moscow was not published. There were also attempts to stage strikes in enterprises important for food supplies. This was prevented through "measures," the paper reported, without giving details.

### Situation Tense in Yerevan

*AU2107103888 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 21 (AFP)—Official Soviet news agency TASS made an all-out attack Thursday on Armenian nationalists' Karabakh Committee, as troops gathered in Armenia's strike-threatened capital, Yerevan. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile there were conflicting accounts Thursday of a two-day general strike called by militants at a mass rally in Yerevan Wednesday night, in response to the Supreme Soviet's refusal to meet their demands. The Karabakh Committee had called only for a token 15-minute strike.

Official Armenian sources Thursday said "90 per cent of companies in the town were working" and the local party newspaper KOMMUNIST said the city was "calm and normal, people are refusing to strike again".

An earlier strike had been called off Monday as a gesture while the Supreme Soviet debated its decision on the disputed region.

But Armenian nationalists contacted by telephone said Thursday that people were going to their workplaces only to organise support for the strike. They added that the situation was tense and that troops were stationed all around the capital and in certain buildings inside the city.

Both sides agreed that transport services were working normally. The Soviet authorities Wednesday signalled a new crackdown on Armenian dissidents by stripping a jailed Armenian nationalist, Paruyr Ayrikyan, of his citizenship and announcing that he would be expelled from the country.

### No Immediate Solution

*NC2107094588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The (?decision) adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on (?decisions) by the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR concerning Nagorno-Karabakh continue to be at the center of the republic workers' attention. The paper carries (?various reports on this).

In an article entitled "In the Path of Solution", [Name indistinct] (Nazaryan), expert on jurisprudence, writes specifically: Although the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (?unanimously rejected) the request by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on including the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast into the structure of the Armenian SSR, nevertheless [word indistinct] they should remember that the solution of grave problems in interethnic relations such as the Nagorno-Karabakh problem cannot be solved immediately or [words indistinct]. The fundamental solution and [word indistinct] of such problems calls for a (?vital process) during which (?effective) steps should be taken on the basis of socialist (?basic principles) toward our country's state and popular reconstruction process under conditions of democratization and glasnost.

## Economic

### Council of Ministers Discuss State Plan

*LD2007210288 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 20 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the USSR met today to discuss the results of the fulfilment of the state plan for economic and social development of the USSR and the state budget for the first six months. After making an all-round analysis of the situation in the national economy, it stated that the main target figures were fulfilled in the first six months. As compared with the same period last year the volume of industrial production rose by 4.7 per cent instead of a planned 4.2 per cent in 1988. Branches of the fuel, power and metallurgical complexes operated at stable rates.

As compared with the first six months last year the national income grew by 5 per cent as against 6.6 per cent planned for 1988.

The meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers stressed the urgent need for immediate solution of the pressing problems of people's well-being, primarily those concerned with attaining substantial changes in food supplies for the population.

The USSR Council of Ministers stressed the paramount significance of a socio-economic development of national territories in which the interests of all nations, small and big, harmonize with the common interests of the country and stronger socialist internationalism is ensured. The USSR State Planning Committee and the councils of ministers of union republics were instructed consistently to abide by these demands in their practical activity.

### Ryzhkov Chairs Discussion of State Orders

*PM2007150088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 p 3*

[Special correspondent Ye. Leontyeva report on 18 July USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussion of draft interim Regulations on the Formation of State Orders for 1989-1990: "The Golden Mean?"]

[Text] On 18 July the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the draft interim Regulations on the Formation of State Orders for 1989-1990. The session was conducted by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The state order.... According to the intentions of those who originated the economic reform, it should be one of its sources of power. But unfortunately it has not become so. Moreover, the command-and-administer system was assimilated, and even strengthened fairly substantially its influence on the leading component of the economy at precisely the time when the hope of economic autonomy was springing up at the "grass roots."

Of course, it would be far better to approach the planned goal immediately by the shortest route, but as to where that shortest route lies—opinions differed. And how! The disputes over the new conception of the state order, which continued unabated for a whole day in the Oval Hall of the House of Government, showed that there is no unity of views, nor can there be, for the time being.

The interim regulations, designed for the 2 remaining years of the 5-year plan, were prepared under the leadership of the USSR Gosplan and presented at the session by Yu. Maslyukov, chairman of that committee. Why for 2 years? The answer is simple: We should enter the new 5-year plan with a well-oiled economic mechanism, which means that the state order will then have a more suitable "setting." But for now.... For now, as Yu. Maslyukov said, it reflects the transitional stage between

two 5-year plans. And that means "both the incomplete renunciation of former methods of economic management, and the maximum possible autonomy for enterprises in these conditions."

Naturally, many questions arose immediately. Production workers inquired: Who will formulate the "administrative-economic centaur" and what proportion will it account for?

Yu. Maslyukov: The state order will be formulated at a statewide level. Ministries and departments are deprived of that right. The proportion it will account for will be reduced to one-half or one-third of the 1988 level. Moreover the number of relevant indicators will be reduced to one-sixth.

Let us interpret this "burden" for certain sectors. Since the main task of the state order is to satisfy public needs, this means that on consumer goods (apart from the USSR Ministry of Light Industry) it will be 100 percent. The growth rate here, Yu. Maslyukov explained, is one of the most important indicators of the people's life. Hence the full coverage. The same applies to the fuel and energy complex. The necessity? Hiccups in this sector invariably cause "shocks" throughout the economy. But machine building, say, is another matter.

Thus, out of 224 enterprises and associations of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry only 22 (10 percent) will have a state order. The others will begin to work on the basis of horizontal ties. One-half of the Ministry of Light Industry's enterprises are exempt.

Judging by the first "round" of speakers, this ideology of the state order suited many of the leaders of grass-roots components.

V. Kvasov, general director of the "Voroshilovgradteplovoz" Production Association: The production of diesel locomotives cannot be handed over to market forces.

B. Kustov, general director of "Zapsib" [West Siberian Metallurgical Plant]: The state order should be the same for the metallurgists as for the ministries working with us.

V. Ilyushenko, general director of "Donetskugol": Let it be at the 100-percent level.

What was the charm of the round number for these experienced economic leaders? Nobody made any secret of the reasons. They are these: fear of being without resources that are in short supply, without guaranteed sales, without funds for the construction of social, cultural, and consumer facilities. They are frightened by the difficulties of finding partners, by tough terms for concluding contracts. The general director of "AvtoVAZ," lamented, for instance, that his workers have already gone around 600 enterprises, and the result—hardly any orders at all. To sum up the arguments in favor of a comprehensive state order, it should be added that the directors of many enterprises cannot yet conceive of themselves in a milieu in which economic regulators operate.

In answer to a question about how plant housing, hospitals, and kindergartens can be built when capacities are "bursting at the seams," when construction materials cannot be obtained for love or money, N. Ryzhkov explained that in principle the method of construction using enterprises' own resources should also be backed up by material resources. And in general, it should not be assumed that only the state order will be backed up with resources. Resources will be provided for everything the enterprises take on under the control figures.

Some participants in the session had an ambivalent attitude to the interim regulations. While agreeing with the principles, they demanded that various points be changed, new ones be incorporated, superfluous ones rejected, and that vagaries be clarified. M. Raman, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, argued the need for an 100-percent state order on equipment for ecological projects. The well-known construction worker N. Travkin demanded that it be reduced from 100 to 75 percent for his organization—75 percent is the figure for which the Gosplan is allocating resources. They will have to obtain the rest themselves. Ye. Zayashnikov, general director of the "Yaroslavnefteorgsintez" Production Association, wanted to clarify the situation with control figures: On the one hand they are very reminiscent of directives, but on the other they are apparently not mandatory.

And then the tranquil course of the discussion was disrupted. I. Turushev, director of the Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant, stated: It is perfectly clear from the draft regulations that the state order is the plan, in its worst form.

A fierce opponent of the state order, he opened the "floodgates," so to speak, for people sharing his views, and the argument immediately took a different line. The existence of economic content in the state order was called into question by many speakers, and it was observed that the regulations are in conflict with the Law on the Enterprises and in some respects with the Law on the Cooperative System. "Why not take the decisive step?" certain participants in the session asked. "Who are we afraid of? Ourselves?"

The question of state acceptance did not escape discussion—indeed, it could not be ignored.

"We have 35 highly paid specialists on this work," I. Turushev said bitterly. "And why? They do not know what our consumers need. So what are they defending?"

N. Ryzhkov: We discussed this problem here recently. I appealed to the ministers: Give me a list of enterprises where state acceptance could be lifted. And what happened? We waited 3 weeks without signing the document. But no proposal came in. I was forced to sign the document without lifting state acceptance. But if an enterprise gives a guarantee that quality, the standard of output, will not fall, I think we could do without it....

Criticism is all very well, but what do the scientists think about the draft under discussion? And if it is unacceptable, what is acceptable? Where are their counterproposals?

Academicians A. Aganbegyan and L. Abalkin formed a harmonious duo to put forward a radically different concept of the state order. What did they base it on? First and foremost on the peculiarities of the present economic circumstances. As the draft regulations say, the state order is being formulated in the conditions of a 5-year plan that has already been approved and the gradual development of wholesale trade.

"No," L. Abalkin objects, "we are going over to it in the conditions of structural disproportions and a profound imbalance in the national economy. Unless we overcome all this in 2 years, nothing will change. Arguments to the effect that the 5-year plan has already been approved are used in order to avoid changing anything. And we are even setting the control figures as if the 5-year plan will be fulfilled."

The two academicians assessed the state order proposed by the Gosplan as a form of administrative, individually targeted planning with a certain degree of limitation of the range of targets. But the mechanism, the means of conveying it to the basic component, is unchanged. What specifically did they propose?

A. Aganbegyan: We are working on the basis that this is an order, not a mandatory plan, and therefore there should be an interested client [zakazchik]. For instance, the Ministry of Health should order medical equipment from the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry. Suppose they order some equipment, but a hospital is not commissioned, and the order has to be rejected. Who is answerable now? The state budget, because it was the Gosplan that issued the state order, and how can it be held responsible? But then, those who violated the contract will be financially responsible. By analogy, diesel locomotives are ordered by the Ministry of Railways, consumer goods by trade. And so on.

It is not a plan that is needed, but a contract between interested parties, a voluntary contract that "works" exclusively on the basis of benefits, the scientists stressed. All the countries of the world use the state order—in the United States, for instance, it amounts to 22 percent of gross national product. But it operates on the basis of these principles. Naturally, it should be backed up by resources 100 percent, without reservation, because the client acts on behalf of the state, while the state defines the consumer's place in the priorities. This is the only way to establish real economic relations.

This approach to the state order was supported by L. Matyukhin, chief of the Gorkiy Railroad. The freightcars do not stand up to criticism, there is a shortage of electric locomotives, the electricians have been laying defective rails from our grandfathers' times, 30 percent of the track is urgently in need of major repairs that have already overrun, he said, enumerating his troubles. The manufacturing ministries are not responsible for all this. Would it not be different if the rails, the sleepers, and the cars were ordered by the Ministry of Railways? That is, by those who are responsible for transporting passengers, rather than someone abstract?

I. Kirillov, general director of "Krasnoyarsklesprom": We will lose 2 years like that!

V. Isakov, general director of "AvtoVAZ": A fundamental tactical mistake is being made now. Instead of rapidly developing wholesale trade, we are rapidly developing the planning system....

How did the debate over the new concept end? By concluding that the state order cannot but exist today in the customary form.

"I am against reducing it to a minimum in 1988-1990," A. Aganbegyan concluded. "We have the old prices, which do not act as incentives. But nonetheless, at least from 1990 we should think about a major change to economic methods."

N. Ryzhkov: We do not work with scientists enough—that is the trouble....

Closing the conference, N. Ryzhkov noted:

The draft interim regulations we have examined are a step forward in planning. It covers 2 years. We acted correctly in not immediately adopting a document to cover the 13th 5-Year Plan. Many leaders are not ready to go over now, from next year, to the model proposed by our two academicians. Fears exist that our economy will become unbalanced if we do this. From the viewpoint of the socialist market, it is at a rudimentary stage. Enterprises are only just learning to work together. On the other hand, autonomy must not be suppressed.

Therefore let us carefully analyze all the proposals and, taking the document as a basis, let us instruct Yu. Maslyukov and others to submit an amended draft in the near future.

## Cooperative Taxation Draft Rejected

*PM2007094188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[E. Gonzalez article: "Look Before You Leap; 13 July USSR Council of Ministers' Presidium Rejected Draft Tax System for Cooperatives"]

[Text] The system for taxing the income of cooperatives and citizens working in them proposed by the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the USSR Gosplan was discussed for an entire day. On the street it was almost 30 degrees, while in the Oval Hall of Government House all the chandeliers and powerful banks of lights were burning because of the television filming, but during the day not one of the assembled company so much as sighed despite the stuffiness and the jackets and ties which befitted the occasion. The subject being discussed on the rostrum of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium was more important than anything else.

Opening the session, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, reported that during the discussion of the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR more than 200,000 comments of all kinds were made. A significant proportion concerned the clauses on taxation. Even then opinion was divided. Some people believed that the system was too harsh, and these people, it seems, were in the majority. Others advocated frankly that even more pressure should be brought to bear on these cooperative members.

Attempts were made to extract from these opposing opinions general principles for the new system. The first principle is that it must stimulate cooperatives' dynamic development. Second: It must accord with the demand of social justice.

USSR Minister of Finance B.I. Gostev briefly reported how it is proposed not only to combine these aims but also to hit the "bull's-eye." In the auditorium there were cooperative chairmen from all over the country, scientists, lawyers, leaders of economic departments, USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, and party and soviet workers, who had once expressed their opinion concerning the previous system. And judging by the speeches, they quickly realized that the new taxation clause differs from the old only quantitatively.

It is obviously not worth revealing now the figures, rubles, and percentages which figured in the draft—it was not accepted. The main point was that, essentially, the old system was taken as the basis—the only difference being that the tax rate on cooperatives' income was increased somewhat and the tax on cooperative members was somewhat reduced. True, one fundamentally new feature emerged—the breakdown of cooperatives according to types of activity into four groups with different taxation levels.

Several dozen people came to the microphones. The speakers were not restricted in terms of time, or the problems raised, or means suggested for resolving them —they could propose whatever they wanted. That is probably why it is now difficult to systematize in any way everything that was said. Nonetheless, without claiming to record the full and absolute truth, I shall try to do this.

We understand, some people said from the rostrum, that, in addition to the fundamental principles which have been cited, the Ministry of Finance has one further most important concern—to ensure contributions to the budget. But will the proposed taxation system resolve this problem? Some cooperative chairmen cited data about how payments into the budget were reduced after the introduction of the system presently in operation.

It turns out that tax is the ruble's shortest way into the budget, but not the most attractive. But are there other ways? One cooperative in the Ukraine designs, makes, installs, and puts into service for the client machinery for processing polymers. This is the kind of machinery we mainly buy abroad. One cooperative, for example, makes linoleum production lines. In a year it can make one or it could make six—everything depends on the tax level. The greater the tax, the less the volume of production; the less the tax, the greater the amount of machinery. And in all cases a cooperative's income per head will be almost the same. But our society is short of machinery, people will be unable to buy linoleum, and the budget will not receive funds.

It turns out that the cooperatives' dynamic development and budget contributions are one and the same problem. It is surprising that, for example, lawyers understand this better than financiers. For this reason the Ministry of Justice insists that the funds channeled into developing cooperatives should not be taxed, while the Ministry of Finance holds the opposing view. The lawyers' stance, I think, received full support at the session of the USSR Council of Ministers' Presidium.

It is interesting that the cooperative chairmen who spoke, and who spoke frankly and quite sharply, all the same could not make up their minds to reject entirely the draft system proposed by such prestigious organizations. But literally everyone produced arguments to prove that this system is utterly unsuited to their own cooperative. How it would suit others, we do not know, they say, but it would not suit our conditions. And this was said by those who are working according to official rates or according to market rates, or according to state orders or on the basis of independent endeavor, for an enterprise or department or for an independent consumer. It makes you wonder whether the actual principle of taxation was the right one.

Scientists and economists spoke about this. Their proposal was that progressive taxes should be levied not from income but from profit. This is an utterly different

approach and it is difficult to say whether it will be implemented. They debated the frequency of collecting taxes. General opinion seems to be that monthly payments are entirely unsuitable. Any cooperative can have commercial ups and downs, a period of preparing for production and a period of harvesting. In general, an annual tax would suit the majority.

And the division of cooperatives into four groups seemed too crude—their activity cannot fit into such a small number of compartments without being detrimental to justice.

And one more consideration which was expressed many times and which does not relate only to taxes. No economic problem should be resolved by the tug-of-war method. After all, the tax clause which is being elaborated is the third in a very short time. No one is guaranteed or insured against mistakes. And no one, evidently, doubts that the first and second variants of taxation were imperfect. But who can say for certain where the greater number of mistakes was made: in those variants or in their sudden, untimely abolition? The cooperative movement needs, at its tender age, not only dynamism but also stability.

The following cooperative chairmen from various cities took part in the discussion of the draft taxation system: L.Kh. Lantsman, A.G. Goncharov, A.L. Konovalov, A.I. Kondakov. Also taking part were economists and scientists L.I. Abalkin, M.L. Bronshteyn, T.I. Koryagina and others.

The USSR Council of Ministers' Presidium did not adopt the tax system proposals and ordered the preparation of a new draft, with the participation of specialists, scientists and cooperative members.

## Dolgikh Stresses Need To Save Resources

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[Article by V. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Attitude Toward Resources Is a Very Important Criterion of Restructuring in the Economy"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will go down in the history of our party and country as a pivotal forum of epoch-making significance. The most important place in its work was occupied by questions of restructuring all spheres of the life of Soviet society, reforming the political system, democratizing state management, introducing new methods of economic management, transferring to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing, and improving price formation. We can resolve the strategic tasks set in the economy if we ensure an increase in social production efficiency, high product quality, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the unconditionally more rational utilization of all kinds of resources.

The problem of saving resources has today joined the category of problems of a world order. Man's production activity has reached such a scale that the "shovel," which hitherto had been used thoughtlessly to extract minerals from the earth's interior, has increasingly frequently begun to strike the bottom. The question essentially stands as follows: Either we learn to manage in the new way—carefully and economically expending every kilogram of metal and coal, every meter of cloth, and every liter of gasoline—or insurmountable difficulties of a technical and economic nature await us.

We are having to go further and further for the resources we need—into almost inaccessible, uninhabited places—to delve deeper and deeper into the earth's interior, and to exploit poorer and poorer deposits. Whereas some 15 years ago, that is, at the time of utilizing the most productive oilfields, it cost us R46 to create new capacities for the extraction of 1 tonne of oil, in 1985 it cost us R88, and by 1990 the cost will have increased to R129. What lies behind these rubles? People's labor, time, and, once again, the same material resources which are, naturally, diverted from the tasks of satisfying people's vital needs, producing consumer goods, constructing housing, developing health care and education—everything that goes, in the final analysis, to make up the people's level of well-being and the richness of their life.

There is no doubt that the problem of meeting the needs for material resources is constantly being actualized. And this is understandable. If we take the final quarter of the century, we will discover that there has been rapid growth in production of the main kinds of raw material, fuel, and energy resources throughout the world. World oil extraction, say, has increased 150 percent, steel production has more than doubled, and electricity generation has more than quadrupled.

The raw material sectors in our country have developed at a still higher rate. The USSR today produces 1 tonne in every 5 of oil and steel, 1 tonne in every 4 of mineral fertilizers, approximately 40 percent of world natural gas extraction, and so forth.

There are tremendous resources, but this question must not be simplified or portrayed as the raw material ministries' subjective desire to increase production of resources. The need for them depends on many factors—the growing scale of the national economy, its structure which has taken shape over many decades, the level of equipment and technology, and a number of others. Political factors in the world must also be taken into account. Finally, mismanagement and the psychological nihilism with regard to the significance of resources which has developed over many years leave a negative mark.

There is still a stereotype in economic practice according to which it is customary to consider that we have a great deal of resources, that our subterranean storerooms are inexhaustible, and that raw materials and fuel are almost a gift to us and thus can be expended thoughtlessly. These false notions must be destroyed resolutely and as quickly as possible.

We cannot continue to tolerate the paradox whereby, given the existence of colossal raw material resources, there is a constant shortage of them. This situation, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in the report at the 19th all-union party conference, is a consequence of the fact that even today the country continues to expend too much fuel, electricity, and metal per unit of national income—which makes it necessary to allocate more and more new funds to build up the raw material, fuel, and energy base. The materials- and energy-intensiveness of national income in our country is considerably higher than in developed capitalist states. With regard to metal, for example, it is 140 percent higher than in the United States.

An in-depth study must be made of the causes of the present situation in order to formulate correct measures. And it is a question of an abrupt change in this work, not of minor moves.

We began very belatedly analyzing from critical positions the state of affairs with regard to saving resources, and the cost-based management mechanism dominated. And yet V.I. Lenin emphasized the need for rational expenditure of all available resources as an obligatory condition of socialist building during the very first days of Soviet power. "Safeguard and cherish as the apple of your eye land, grain, factories, implements, foodstuffs, transport—henceforth all this will be entirely [boldface word as published] yours, the property of the whole people," he wrote. And people of the older generation probably remember how careful account was taken of literally every nail in the past. But then we somehow imperceptibly lost that thriftiness. A trend toward wastefulness developed, particularly during the sixties and seventies, when the stagnation phenomena under conditions of the constant growth in resources were sharply reflected in the low efficiency of their utilization. It was at just that time that we were opening up unique oil and gas deposits and unlocking one natural storeroom after another. The riches of the earth's interior created an illusion of a surplus of resources and easy accessibility.

It is not true when people say that no one thought of a resource-saving policy. Experience was studied, and many specific proposals were advanced for deeper processing of oil and the comprehensive utilization of natural gas and other kinds of raw materials. There were many correct decisions on this topic, including congress decisions. But those guidelines and decisions did not work properly. What was needed was a general shift of the national economy away from the cost-based system toward an efficient resource-saving one. A new economic mechanism was needed. But this did not exist. To our great sorrow the flywheel of wastefulness had picked up such momentum that it has been impossible to stop it to this day.

This can only be done through joint, vigorous efforts by party and soviet organizations and by every worker, kolkhoz member, and specialist. The necessary conditions have now been created. The situation in the country is changing cardinally. Labor collectives are going over to full economic accountability and self-financing. And policy in the sphere of resource utilization cannot fail to change here. Its most concentrated expression is the task of meeting 80 percent of the increased requirements for raw materials and semimanufactures this year by means of savings. How is this policy being implemented?

Unsatisfactorily, it has to be admitted. Last year work on saving resources actually slowed. The target for reducing power consumption was not met. The metals-intensiveness of national income has been reduced just 2.8 percent in 2 years instead of the planned 4.8 percent.

After analyzing in detail the situation in this sphere, at the beginning of the year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted a principled decision on the need to radically raise the standard of all our work in the resource-saving sphere—on the organizational, technical, scientific, and educational planes.

Special emphasis should be placed on the urgency of the question. We have no time to hang around. We have felt for ourselves the seriousness of the situation during the past 2 years of the 5-year plan, when only one-third of the additional need for fuel and energy was met via savings, and the fulfillment of production targets required above-plan extraction of a large quantity of coal, gas, and oil.

But, you will agree, the planned development of the country's economy must not be made dependent on whether or not above-plan fuel is extracted. Not to mention the fact that in this way we are robbing ourselves. The extraction and production of raw materials and semimanufactures is a costly business. Suffice it to say that capital investments in the metallurgical complex and the fuel and energy complex have reached almost half the total volume of investments in industry. The prospect appears still more capital-intensive if the structure of the national economy and the approach to the problem of resources are preserved. In this connection the following question was raised most sharply at the 19th all-union party conference: What is the use of increasing output in the raw materials and fuel and energy sectors if the increase is "eaten up" as a result of the irrational, wasteful use of resources? A further tilt in this direction imposes a very heavy burden on the economy. And it is within our power alone to reduce it.

We must radically restructure our attitude toward resources. Whereas we used to regard economies as an auxiliary source for satisfying additional requirements for raw materials, fuel, and semimanufactures, they must now become the decisive factor. It is important to realize today that the preservation of the established practice in the sphere of resource consumption threatens to wreck the entire national economic development program.

The system of the planning and distribution of material resources and of economic interest in their rational utilization has to be radically restructured. It is necessary to enhance the role of science, ensure the saving of resources, and, finally, carry out tremendous educational work in labor collectives and among the population.

A number of areas should be singled out in particular. Fundamental changes of structural policy must be tackled more resolutely in developing the economy with obligatory implementation of the policy of saving resources in every possible way. This requires a search for the optimum correlations between extracting and processing sectors of the national economy at this time and for ways to meet the needs for products by sharply improving their quality, reliability, and durability. It is necessary to increase production of, for example, rotary and rotary-converter lines and machine tools with digital program control and reduce output of universal ones and to introduce stamping processes in place of cutting in machine building. Production of plastics and materials based on carbon fiber [uglerodnaya tkan] is to be developed, and they are to take the place of metal. The world has seen the clear-cut formulation of a policy of deep refining of oil and natural gas, the latter's use for internal combustion engines, and so forth.

These are very important areas, and questions associated with them are at the center of the attention of the country's planning organs. This needs to be speeded up, but it will naturally take time. Other measures must also be taken in parallel, and these must be at the center of the attention of economic leaders and labor collective councils.

We must overcome elementary wastefulness and take what literally is lying on the surface. It has to be said that there are considerable "deposits" here. And the press correctly raises questions of widespread instances of flagrant mismanagement, spoilage, squandering of resources, and overstocking. In this connection I would like to single out the problem of accelerating the turnover rate of material resources. In the last 5-year plan the rate of increase in stocks of raw materials, semimanufactures, equipment, and goods at industrial enterprises was almost twice the production growth rate and was even higher in agriculture.

Under the flag of the everyday principle "stocks put no strain on the pocket" enterprises frequently continue to accumulate a stock of raw materials and semimanufactures. Sitting in warehouses, they are taken out of circulation and for a long time are not turned into the end product that we need. It hardly needs be demonstrated that this kind of mentality is outmoded and has become one of the mechanisms retarding our development. Wasteful hoarding is frequently associated with so-called shortages and the fear of ending up without particular resources at a certain time.

The transfer of enterprises to the new management conditions is a very important measure for intensifying the saving of resources. Full economic accountability and every collective's interest in less expenditure must abruptly change the attitude toward resources. The second model of economic accountability gives collectives a particularly appreciable interest in looking after resources. For raw materials and semimanufactures account for approximately 70 percent of the cost of industrial output. Labor collectives must channel their efforts toward saving them in every possible way in order to ensure a high economically accountable income for themselves. This must also be backed up with party political work at local level, and every working person must be made aware that his wages depend on the standard of his resource-saving work.

At the same time, we need an in-depth analysis of the management system based on the results of the past years of the 5-year plan, account must be taken of the pluses and minuses, and a search must be made for more rational solutions. Elements of the cost-based mechanism have by no means been eliminated in the economic normatives now set. They consist of the desire to secure a somewhat freer normative and to have more stocks. The still existing procedure for setting expenditure norms for many types of raw materials and semimanufactures per R1 million of output or construction and installation work frequently does not stand up to criticism. Under such conditions a saving shown in a reduction in expenditure norms by a certain percentage certainly does not mean a saving in the manufacture of a product.

Practice shows that many enterprises now secure an increase in profit chiefly by increasing production volumes, not by saving resources. What is needed to eliminate this shortcoming is a scientifically substantiated approach to determining and ensuring the optimum extent of material expenditure on production and the active involvement of economic science in drawing up corresponding recommendations.

We must learn to combine the state's interests with the interest of the collective. In fact, to save 1 tonne of raw materials, fuel, or semimanufactures takes 3-4 times less funds than that tonne would take if produced from primary resources. Today everyone knows this correlation. However, it is not enough to provide incentives for saving resources. Many enterprise leaders do not consider this their chief area of work, and so they do not use even those levers with which they have been provided to mobilize collectives to save resources. The average size of bonuses is 10-15 percent of the saving made.

Of course, the restructuring of economic management and the development of economically accountable relations are gradually cutting the ground out from under the cost-based mechanism. Progress is already being made. Thus there has, for example, been a substantial reduction in the need for grain-harvesting combines in the country. Their production in 1987 was 14 percent down on 1985. Of course, the increased productivity of these machines was also a factor here, but, at the same time, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have begun taking a more thrifty approach to the purchase of equipment. In a number of instances enterprises are abandoning overstated requests for material resources and beginning to make more rational use of what they already have. It is very important to accelerate these positive processes.

The efforts of enterprises, ministries, and departments in the resource-saving sphere must now be backed up by major organizational and legal measures. In this connection paramount attention should be paid to drawing up normative acts to encourage the introduction of economical equipment, progressive materials, and low-waste technologies, and more active use should be made of state standards with a view to reducing energy consumption and the materials-intensiveness of output.

There is important work to do in the sphere of distributing resources. The mechanism here has not been properly adjusted. If we speak of the radical imposition of order, we must develop as quickly as possible wholesale trade in production and technical output and means of production and develop direct ties between enterprises as much as possible.

The USSR Gossnab and ministries must increasingly assume the functions of intermediaries between suppliers and consumers and help them to use output above all where it will produce the maximum return for the country. Our national economy is a planned one, and there are few reserve production capacities. Under these conditions it is important to make full use of the existing potential and ensure the meshing of the interests of the consumer and the producer of resources, including progressive materials, which are a decisive condition not only for creating new equipment but also for saving primary resources. The state invests great funds in creating production of modern resource-saving types of output, but individual consumers, for whom all this is in fact being done, are in no hurry to utilize them.

In ferrous metallurgy, for example, capacities for the production of a number of progressive types of output are not now fully loaded because of a lack of sales, since the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and certain other ministries have proven unprepared to use them in increased volumes. Many consumers, guided by today's material interests, sometimes reject the high-quality output of the Oskolskiy Electrometallurgical Combine, high-grade nonferrous metals, and low-alloy and heat-treated steel. Of course, these materials must not be expended just anywhere, but nor must they be thoughtlessly replaced by low-grade output—which could harm the quality and reliability of machines and products and will increase their metal-intensiveness.

Special raw materials and semimanufactures must be produced for a targeted purpose, for specific consumption through direct ties. The relationship between the supplier and the consumer must be based on mutual interest. And only a contract can define the delivery terms. Without directing and organizing work by planning and supply organs, ministries, and departments we will be unable to rectify such distortions and, most importantly, prevent them in the future.

It is necessary to strengthen honest partnership. Take, for example, that between machine builders and metallurgists. It is quite obvious that they must be united by common interests and work for the end goal. Frequently, however, their partnership is of a departmental nature. While rightly imposing high demands on metal products, machine builders are frequently very unwilling to respond to metallurgists' requests to be supplied with the continuous billet-casting machines, extrafurnace metal-working installations, and other progressive equipment necessary for this.

The same picture is also to be observed in the sphere of utilizing secondary raw materials. Secondary metals are a powerful means of saving resources. One-third of ferrous and nonferrous metals are today produced from secondary resources. However, according to data of the USSR Ministries of Ferrous Metallurgy and Nonferrous Metallurgy, year after year we underutilize approximately 5 million tonnes of scrap ferrous metal and hundreds of thousands of tonnes of nonferrous metal.

The new economic mechanism is to bring into play progressive organizational work forms aimed at making better use of resources. In the Ukraine, for example, service centers have been developed, and several enterprises and sections have been set up for the preliminary cutting out and preparation of metal products. As a result, this permitted a saving of approximately 40,000 tonnes of metal last year alone. Enterprises in the electrical equipment industry have taken the same path. But, unfortunately, I cannot give other addresses. And yet such centers can and must be set up everywhere—both for producers of raw materials and semimanufactures and for consumers. Cooperative activity can also become very widespread here. This area more than any other needs the assistance and support of local organs of power and control by party committees.

Mention should also be made of such an important organizational measure as the creation of small-scale metallurgy in metal-consuming sectors of the national economy. Ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy must produce series output and metal billets. But large-tonnage

sectors must not be adapted almost constantly to producing small batches or one-shot orders. There are very great reserves here for making economical use of metal. The work experience of the aviation, electronic, and certain other sectors of industry confirms this.

I would like to emphasize that it is possible to reach the chief, most productive means of resource saving only through scientific and technical progress. The pace of our economy's transfer to an intensive path of development depends to a decisive degree on how we manage the achievements of scientific and technical progress and place them at the service of society.

The development and broad introduction of waste-free technologies is the determining direction here. The modern level of science and technology makes it possible to resolve this task in practice, to ensure the comprehensive utilization of raw materials, and to create ecologically clean production processes. Such technologies must without fail be incorporated not only in plans for new enterprises but also in the modernization of existing ones. However, this problem is still being resolved extremely slowly, without proper scope.

It has to be admitted that our science—sectoral science above all—still does not perceive resource saving as its important task. Why must we, for example, tolerate for dozens of years the fact that specific expenditure of fuel and energy in our industry is far higher than in developed capitalist countries? We expend 973 kilowatt-hours of electricity to obtain 1 tonne of copper, while the FRG expends less than one-third as much. To produce 1 tonne of cement we expend energy resources to the tune of 274 kg of standard fuel, while Japan expends 142 kg. Why, because domestic appliances—refrigerators, washing machines, television sets, and so forth—are uneconomical, do we essentially have to generate an extra 20 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity every year? Let us take the forestry engineering complex, for example. We cut down approximately as much timber as the United States, but our end product amounts to one-half to one-third as much.

Or take a major problem like corrosion, because of which many millions of tonnes of metal are lost every year? Or increasing the return from oilfields, where more than half our known oil reserves remain unextracted? Scientists and engineers must earnestly tackle work on creating and introducing the most sophisticated technologies, appropriate equipment, and progressive new materials.

It is also necessary to formulate an effective economic mechanism to encourage scientific and technical progress. Even under the new management conditions it has not yet been possible to provide for adequate measures in this area. Labor collectives which are successfully resolving the tasks of creating and assimilating progressive equipment must be put in a preferential position. For this it would be possible to think about establishing an increased percentage of deductions from the profits made to be placed at their disposal. We know that production of new equipment makes a loss, as a rule, at the first stage. The state must obviously shoulder part of the cost during this period. It is no less important to enhance the prestige of the work of researchers, designers, and inventors as creative workers on whose contribution the country's socioeconomic development largely depends.

Special mention should be made of restructuring our machine building, which must react more sensitively and promptly to tasks in the resource-saving sphere. Otherwise we cannot avoid laggardness. In ferrous metallurgy, for example, Japan has specific energy expenditure 20-30 percent below ours. How come? Chiefly because it has bought from ourselves licenses for technologies for continuous steel casting, dry coke quenching, and utilizing the heat of blast furnace exhaust gases. In our country these technologies have still not become sufficiently widespread not only because of laggardness in modernizing metallurgical enterprises, but chiefly because of a shortage of equipment.

In the past a number of machine-building ministries were entrusted with constructing several specialized plants for the production of energy-saving equipment and appliances. Their commissioning would make it possible to meet practically in full the national economy's requirements for waste-heat boilers, economizers, burner devices, and other equipment. However, these enterprises are being constructed extremely unsatisfactorily. In general, the situation insistently advances the task of drawing up a program for the production of resource-saving equipment and appliances. It must be incorporated in the plan of the 13th 5-Year Plan, otherwise we will lose 5 years.

Speaking of the program for machine building, I would like to broach the question somewhat more widely.

In introducing economic accountability we must also hand over to collectives the means for resolving resource-saving tasks and define the appropriate technical directions. On an intersectoral scale we now have programs for the rational utilization of natural gas and casinghead gas, the dieselization of motor transport, the switching of motor vehicles to natural and liquefied gas, the utilization of waste heat from gas compressor stations, and others. However, this is not enough. Each important area of resource saving must be defined by a corresponding program.

I will begin with the fuel and energy complex. Problems connected with improving the efficiency of the use of natural gas should probably be put in first place here. We already extract more of it than any other country. In the long term it is planned to reach a level in excess of 1 trillion cubic meters. However, the vast scale of extraction will also give rise to losses. Unless, of course, we erect a reliable barrier to this.

It is necessary, above all, to take a clear stand and recognize the priority nature of using natural gas as a raw material for the chemical industry, where the economic efficiency of its use is many times higher than when it is burned in power stations. The valuable constituents—ethane, helium, sulfur, and others—must be extracted in more significant volumes.

Billions of cubic meters of gas are now lost or utilized irrationally only because the planned measures for saving it have not been fulfilled. Account has not been taken of gas consumption in the home, for example. Because of backward technologies and equipment the average specific expenditure of gas fuel in the production of rolled metal and cement and in the heat treatment of metal is frequently double or more than that attained in progressive Soviet enterprises.

The time has come, finally, to resolutely improve the utilization of casinghead gas. Billions of cubic meters were lost last year alone because of laggardness over constructing installations for its collection, processing, and transportation, and also because machine building does not produce compressors for pumping gas into oil-bearing strata. If we sent this gas for chemical processing, we could obtain a large quantity of plastics, of which the national economy is experiencing a very acute shortage.

Thus, there is now an urgent need to elaborate a unified technical policy in the sphere of the rational utilization of natural casinghead gas coordinated with the consumer and with the development of machine building. The leaders of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building should more actively tackle the resolution of this important national economic task.

The use of nontraditional energy sources—solar, geothermal, and power and heat supply installations, windpower units, and bioenergy technologies—are a considerable reserve for replenishing the country's energy resources. According to specialist estimates, the reserves of thermal springs alone in the country will make it possible to replace approximately 40 million tonnes of standard fuel per year. However, ministries, departments, and local soviet and economic organs continue to gear themselves solely to conventional types of energy resources. As a result we are currently saving only around 0.9 million tonnes of organic fuel by using nontraditional types of energy—that is, considerably less than stipulated by targets.

Things are seriously hampered by narrow departmental approaches and the absence of economic levers to provide incentives to bring such power resources into national economic turnover. Only this can explain the fact that for many years now the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry have failed to resolve the question of the construction of a thermal pipeline from the Pauzhetskiy thermal spring to the Ozernovskiy Fish Canning Combine in Kamchatka, which would have prevented the enterprise from bringing in expensive coal.

So-called "small-scale" power generation directly relates to this area. Some 300 small-scale GES' with a total capacity of around 1.3 million kilowatts and using less than 1 percent of the total potential of small rivers currently operate in the country. Calculations show that there is every possibility of more than doubling the capacity of small-scale GES' in our country rapidly and highly effectively for the national economy.

Thus, the largest component in our resources—fuel and energy—covers many topical questions that require urgent attention.

An important range of scientific, technical, and organizational problems is linked with saving metal. The country produces 162 million tonnes of steel and 114 million tonnes of finished rolled metal. This is more than another other country. Our metallurgists are now capable of producing high-quality metal in line with customers' demands. Yet at the same time there is a metal shortage. Why?

First and foremost because the gross-output approach has prevailed for many years in planning metal production and utilization. The struggle for all-important tonnage was conducted for dozens of years. A lack of the requisite grades was made up with other grades, and the customers—who had no interest in rational use—took everything. The proper attention was not paid to customers' special demands—above all, to meeting orders.

The situation is now changing. Production of progressive types of output is being built up at preferential rates. These results can only be assessed as the first steps, and we must continue to persistently improve the structure of metal output.

However, customers also have to expand more rapidly. Designers, planners, and technologists are way behind in this respect. Many types of Soviet-produced equipment are substantially inferior to their foreign counterparts in terms of metal-intensiveness. As a result the country annually uses several million tonnes more metal than is necessary.

Taking the new situation into account, the CPSU Central Committee and the government have ratified the "Metal-Intensiveness" long-term comprehensive program. The task has been set of approximately halving the metal-intensiveness of national income by the year 2000. The measures envisaged by this program cover all sectors of the national economy. Thanks to the accelerated development of production and the extensive application of progressive types of metal output it is planned to save 23-25 million tonnes of ferrous metals in this period.

Needless to say, the problems of resource-saving cannot be confined to just a few aspects—even if some of them are very important. There is essentially no sector or type of production activity where this task does not now loom large.

One of the objective difficulties in bringing about a radical change in the sphere of the rational utilization and saving of resources relates to the multifaceted nature of the work. And each facet is important, each needs attention. The intensification of educational work among working people and he population in the careful utilization of fuel, electricity, thermal power, and raw and other materials is of enormous importance. There is great scope for activity here by each party, trade union, and Komsomol organization and by the mass media.

Labor collectives, their councils, local organs of power, and party committees should proceed on the basis that attitudes to resources and the ability to use them in a rational and proprietorial way are becoming under present-day conditions the objective criteria by which the depth of the real economic restructuring of individual enterprises or the entire economy can be judged. The successful implementation of the directives of the 19th all-union party conference, the acceleration of national economic growth rates, the improvement of economic efficiency, and the growth of Soviet people's prosperity largely depend on the resolution of this task.

## Scientific

### 'Progress-37' Cargo Craft Docks With 'Mir'

*LD2107012288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0050 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jul (TASS)—The "Progress-37" cargo craft docked with the "Mir" manned complex on 21 July 1988 at 0234 Moscow time.

Mutual search, approach, final approach, and docking were carried out through onboard automated equipment. These processes were monitored by the Flight Control Center in cooperation with the ground command and measuring complex, and also by Cosmonauts Titov and Manarov.

The "Progress-37" craft docked with the complex from the "Kvant" module side. Fuel for the joint propulsion system of the station, food, water, equipment and apparatus, and also mail were delivered.

Telemetric information and crew reports show that the onboard system of the "Mir" manned complex are working normally.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel fine.

## Military

### 'Institutionalized Bullying' in Army Decried

*PM1807133988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 p 2*

[Feature consisting of two readers' letters followed by editorial commentary: "Attention! For a Long Time This Command Put a Stop to Talk About 'Institutionalized Bullying.' Today It Is Clear That It Cannot Be Put Off Any Longer"]

[Text] Command Post in the Storeroom [subhead]

...I recently served my time in the artillery forces. In the battery I was the Komsomol organization secretary, and for 2 years I encountered so-called "nonregulation relations."

At the very beginning of our service "governors" [dedy] in the battery took the "youngsters" into the storeroom and began to "explain the service." According to what they said, it was all a case of "keeping your nose to the grindstone" in your first year, then after a year you yourself would get others to do the running around. And the service years were divided in the following way. For the first 6 months you are a "gofer" [poplavok], for up to a year—a "bootlace boy" [shnur], after a year—a "brush boy" [pomazok], and after 1 and ½ years—a "governor"; and only when you leave do you become a citizen. All these nicknames degrade human dignity, and the sacred words behind it are forgotten: protector of the motherland, soldier. I still cannot forget the terrified look on the "youngsters'" faces...

After taps, when the "bootlace boy" shouts: "Good night all governors; the rest of you hold fire on what you're doing"—the purgatory begins. The "youngsters" wash and repair underwear and undercollars, polish boots, clean under beds and tell each "governor": "No mines, no bombs, sleep well, dear governor." I could write much, much more, but there are also such abuses that I cannot bring myself to write about them. But all this, I am sorry to say, did take place. That is a fact.

It is right that this entire "military secret"—rottenness, to call it by its proper name—has been exposed.

Gurar Dosayev. Kazakh SSR.

"Comrade Minister! This Is My Only Son!" [subhead]

To Comrade D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of Defense.

Copy to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office.

Copy to Commander of X Unit.

I would like to share my impressions about a visit to my son Aleksandr Pikulshin who is doing military service in X unit.

Because my son had stopped writing letters, I started to worry and sent two telegrams to the unit commander asking him to tell me what had happened. When I did not get a reply to my telegrams, I obtained leave, stocked up with medicines (I have a bad heart) and went to visit my son to sort things out on the spot.

I did not meet with the command, but after I had spent a few hours crying my eyes out at the checkpoint, my son was let out to see me.

When I saw my son, I did not recognize him: He was thin, dirty, and depressed. I rented an apartment in the city and washed and fed him, and here for the first time I saw tears in my son's eyes, he was complaining not about the burden of service but about the moral and physical insults abuse by the "governors." Do not think that my son is a "momma's boy." He is literate (he completed 2 courses in higher navigation), and is a physically hardy guy (he did wrestling and soccer and 2 years before the Army, he went cross-country running in the morning every day—he was getting ready for military service).

I am describing this so that you understand correctly that he is "not a weakling." So, this young 19-year old man was crying and asking me to get him a transfer via the command to any other unit because he cannot stand the "institutionalized bullying and might do something to himself and maybe even use a weapon. I did not raise him for this, and he is my only child.

Esteemed commander of X military unit!

We send our sons to fulfill their duty to the motherland, to defend it. Commanders, we pay you a significantly larger wage than we ourselves receive (my wage is R95) and we entrust our sons to you.

Comrade Commander, can you organize properly the subunit entrusted to you?

Comrade USSR Defense Minister, I beg you earnestly to take measures to protect my son and all our children—your soldiers—from "institutionalized bullying" and create the proper conditions so that they can fulfill their sacred duty in defending the motherland.

With regards to you from a soldier's mother, Ye. Pikulshina.

P.S. Can I hope that this letter will not have a negative impact on my son's military service.

(We have changed the surname.—Editor's note.)

Our Commentary [subhead]

Military commanders of various ranks, answering questions about nonregulation relations, usually stress that since "the people and Army are united" and, in M.V. Frunze's words, the Army is a microcosm of society, the roots of "institutionalized bullying" are to be found outside the Army, grow out of "civilian life," and permeate hostels, schools and technical colleges. Well, it is difficult to argue with this. But, you will agree, there is another side to the claim that "the people and the Army are united" which is recalled extremely rarely. If democratic transformations are taking place in society, they must affect the Army structure as well! But here is the snag. It is still difficult to talk about the democratization of life which goes on inside the Army.

Judge for yourself: It is extremely rare for regular servicemen to become deputies of local soviets. More often it is officers or senior officials of the community where the subunit is located. One can only dream about reports by deputies to military collectives, and deputies' clinics in subunits. The picture is similar in the election of Komsomol committee secretaries. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has already written that, according to established practice, the majority of nominees are officers or warrant officers who go through the formalities of the election procedure.

Thus, neither the local soviets nor the Komsomol are capable of guaranteeing the social protection of regular servicemen. Is this not one of the reasons for the "shady" relations in the military collective?

How, pray, is a young soldier to defend his human dignity when the need arises, if according to the regulations he only has the right to make a complaint "through official channels," that is appeal to his immediate commander? Inspections where representatives of a superior command "mix" with soldiers are fiction pure and simple. It is simply impossible to explain anything while standing on parade. The only thing that remains to be done is rattle off the formula: "I have no complaints or requests."

Obviously it is now essential to reexamine many provisions of the service regulations. They must be brought into line with constitutional norms. The 19th All-Union Party Conference discussed guarantees of the rights of the individual. It is also essential for the leadership of the Armed Forces to draw conclusions from this conversation. If we say that the Army is a "school of life," then let it also be a school of respect for human dignity, a school of the kind of life whose norms we are restoring. This will not undermine discipline, only make it more understood.